1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

TERRITORY[4]

101 The band of Northern Paiute known as the Gidü'tikad[5], or
131 Groundhog-eaters, with whom this paper is primarily concerned, lived in the northeastern corner of California and adjacent parts of Oregon and Nevada, along the western fringe of the Great Basin. Their territory included the whole of Surprise valley and considerable of the hill country immediately to the east. Statements as to eastern extension are extremely vague, but their holdings included Coleman valley and probably Long valley, running well toward Summit lake in Nevada.

To the west Gidü'tikad[5] territory extended over Warner range to include the eastern shore of Goose lake, south as far as Buck creek. The Paviotso-Achomawi boundary fell somewhere between this point and Sugar hill, the latter being indisputably Achomawi (Izi'sa'wi). My informant claimed Fandango valley and Lassen creek for the Paiute but said that both they and the Achomawi used to fish in the last mentioned stream. Save for a slight overlap in the Fandango region, this statement is in substantial agreement with Kniffen,[6] who places the northernmost Achomawi village on Lawson (i.e., Lassen) creek. The Paiute regarded all this region west of the Warners merely as hunting province, thus, "We didn't own it; we just hunted there." Hunting parties crossed into the Goose Lake country via Bidwell canyon, coming out near the present town of New Pine Creek.

To the northwest were the Klamath (Modoc ?), known as Pama'ha sai"[8], or, more commonly, Sai"[7], given once as Sa'ib[5]tikad[5], Tule-eaters. Pindy gave Pakwi'tikad[5], Trout-eaters, as the name for the Modoc; all other informants failed to distinguish between them and the Klamath. Pindy seems, however, to have reversed the two terms, agreeing with other informants that the "Klamath" hunted on the western shore of Goose lake and placing the Modoc in the Klamath marsh district, the heart of Klamath territory.[7] It seems likely, there-

[4] The bulk of this material is based on information given by P and JB.

[5] P. 308 and map 2.

[6] This is said to be a name given by the Yainax Paiute, and hence recent. My informant was not certain, but suggested that it might be derived from pa'müha, water grass.

[7] According to Spier, Klamath, 3 and figure 1. See Bibliography for complete citations.

I: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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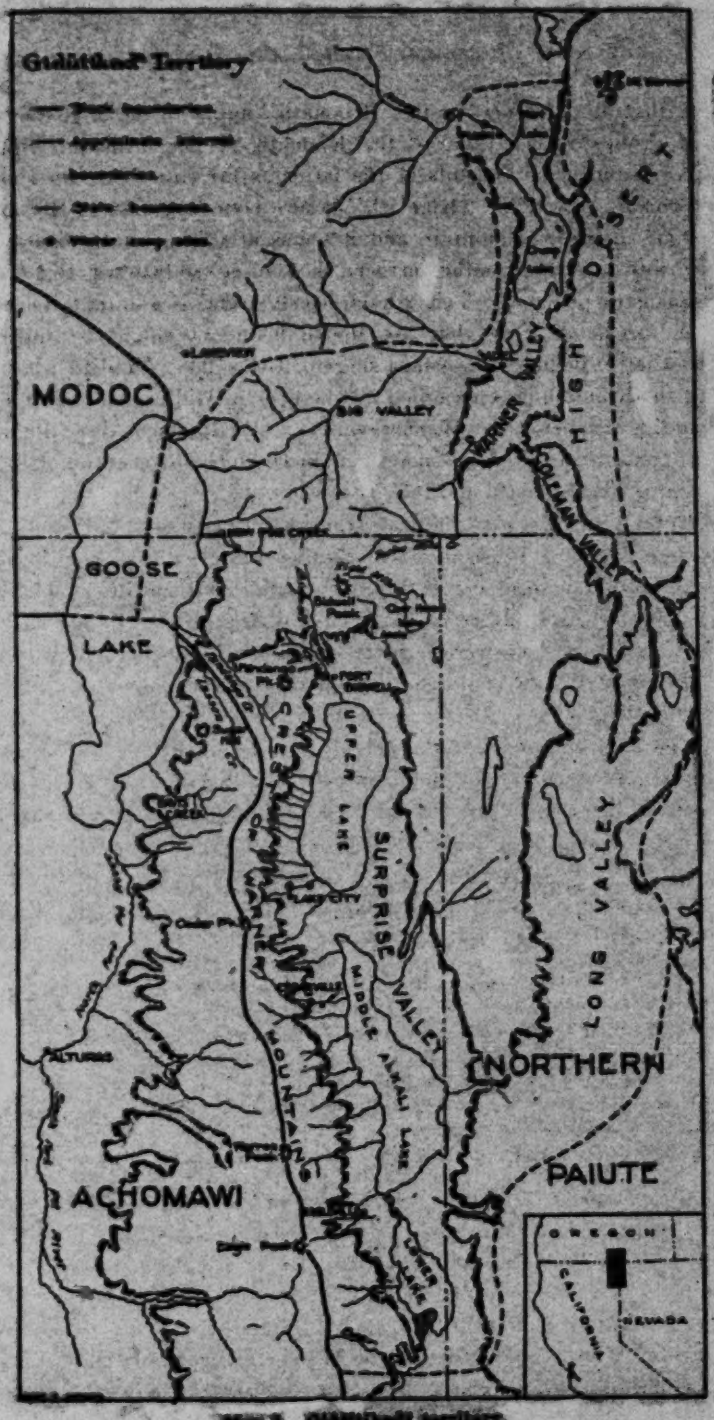

1: Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

fore, that all references to the "Klamath" apply to the Modoc or to both groups rather than to the Klamath proper, although Spier reports summer settlements of the latter as far east as Sycan river. Informants placed the "Klamath"-Paiute boundary east of Bly and west of Gearheart mountain and it seems at this point to have run northwest, inasmuch as the northern shore of Goose lake was regarded as Klamath province. This northwesterly trend is substantiated by Spier's Klamath map, but his Modoc boundary might be shifted somewhat to include the eastern shore of Goose lake. Tradition has it that the Klamath once occupied all the present Gidū'tikad[a] territory, including Surprise and Warner valleys. At this time these Paiute were living east of Steens mountain, in Oregon, but eventually they drove out the Klamath and took possession.

To the north the Gidū'tikad[a] ranged more or less continuously through Adel and Plush in Warner valley, the northern extension of Surprise. They seem not to have wintered north of Plush, but in summer they probably reached the head of the valley. To the north, south, and east, they were bordered by other Paiute, although most of the country between Plush and Burns is said to have been alkali and uninhabited.

The names of some of the neighboring Paiute bands follow, but anything in the way of detailed geographical distribution is not feasible. Informants are unfamiliar with distant areas, especially to the east.

Dūhū'teyatikad[a], Deer-eaters, Silver and Summer lakes, Oregon.

Go'ya'tikad[a], Crawfish(?)-eaters, Yainax and Beatty, Oregon. These Paiute were brought from Silver lake in recent times and the name is therefore post-reservation.

Wada'tikad[a], Wada'(seed)-eaters, Burns, Malheur district, Oregon; and Susanville, California.

Tūbu'initikad[a], (?) Berry-eaters, east of Steens mountain, Oregon.

Kwi'nadūva[a], Kwi'nodub, Smoke (?) Indians, McDermitt, Nevada. The country north of McDermitt is said to have been uninhabited.

A'ga'itikad[a], Fish-eaters, Summit and Walker lakes, Nevada.

Kuyui'tikad[a], Sucker-eaters, Pyramid lake, Nixon, Nevada.

To'itikad[a], Cat-tail-eaters (from toib[a], cat-tail), Fallon and Yerington, Nevada.

My informant did not know the name of the band immediately to the south but stated that their headman was named Sa'ihida[a]. Similarly he gave Wobi'finūnabūgai as the chief of the Paisley Paiute but did not know the group designation. Paisley is known as So'ho. He stated definitely that two bands, those of Burns and Susanville, were known as Wada'tikad[a] and that the Walker and Summit lake bands,

1; Kelly E-5 (1930) 1934 Northern Paiute
Surprise Valley

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although distinct, shared the same name. The Summit lake group bounded the Gidü'tikad[8] to the east.

Two subnames were recorded. One, Saib[a]tikad[a], Tule-eaters, applied to Adel in Warner valley. This name was given any persons camped there; in other words, it was associated with the site rather than with the people. The word, Saib[a]tikad[a], is apparently in accord with the Handbook[9] which gives the Saidyuka as a group of eastern Oregon. Loud[9] has it "sai'i, short for sai-duka'a, 'tule eaters,' a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada." It should be noted that this is identical with two of the three versions for Klamath. The other subname is said to be of recent derivation. As the Bidwell Paiute were ridiculed by their neighbors for eating the flesh of animals dead from natural causes, they came to speak jestingly of the Cedarville and Eagleville groups as Itsü'natikad[a], they-eat-them-alive.

These band names must not be regarded as having serious economic significance. They are based, in fact, on natural resources rather than on staple foods and are certainly no more than convenient labels. For example, concerning the name given the Yainax Paiute, my informant said, "Go'ya'tikad[a] is a new name given since the Paiute were put on the Klamath reservation.[10] It is named after the crawfish (?). There are many there; I don't know if they ever eat them or not."

The only one of the above bands not named according to the "-tikad[a]" pattern is the McDermitt band. Informants could not explain this exception, nor could they give the exact meaning of the name. One translated it "Smoke Indians"; another said somewhat doubtfully, "It sounds like the word for smoke; I don't know why they call them that."

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[8] Handbook of American Indians, 1:932.

[9] Loud and Harrington, 152.

[10] Go'ya' is apparently a loan word as Spier, 15, notes a Klamath village called GoyEaks'Egis, crawfish crawl out. It seems plausible that crawfish, foreign to the old Paiute habitat, were designated by the Klamath term.

2: Lowie E-5 (no date) 1924 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

000 further study. At Las Vegas, and other towns in southern Nevada, it may also be possible to get additional information on the Paiute.

Of the Ute, the Navaho Springs group, thirty-eight miles from Mancos, Colorado, seems to me by far the most promising. In 1912 they were so little touched by civilization that I had to leave after a short stay for lack of any even half-way acceptable interpreter. The enforced schooling of the children must in the meantime have created a more favorable situation from this point of view. I got the impression that these Ute were far less grasping than their congeners in Ignacio and Whiterocks.

[131] The Paviotso are sprinkled over dozens of places in Nevada. The Walker River Indians and those in neighboring towns ought to be studied and the Pyramid Lake Reservation should be revisited. Professor Kroeber does not consider the Oregon Paviotso worth while in their present condition. The Paviotso are not hostile but generally far from communicative, and while a great many have a smattering of English few have a good command of the language.

It is highly desirable to investigate the Ft. Hall Shoshoni, on whose reservation the Lemhi also are now residing. The Duck River Valley Reservation is unfortunately so difficult of access that it is a question whether it is worth while visiting the mixture of Shoshoni and Paviotso reported there; the nearest railroad point is probably Elko, Nevada.

3: Angulo & Freeland D-5 (1926) 1929
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

typical focus of specialization in North-Central California. The rest of California would thus represent the under lying primitive layer *plus* the influences from this and from other outlying cultural foci insofar as they have penetrated any one geographical point. This is however not the place to develop this theory. Suffice it to allude to it in order to explain why in the short time at my disposal I limited myself to certain definite points which otherwise might seem to have been given undue importance. They are details that are significant for the delimitation of the spheres of cultural spread in this particular region.

In regard to the language I could obtain only a general impression of the morphology, and a fairly sufficient semasiology, sufficient that is for purposes of comparison. Altogether, the material here presented is scanty both as regards ethnology and language. It may prove of value however, since so little has been published on this people[1].

I will point out in this paper the differences or similitaries between the culture of the Paiutes and that of the Pit Rivers, with vhom I am well acquainted. I would have liked to do the same in regard to the Klamath-Modocs. I have however but a very insecure knowledge of this people, and inasmuch as Dr. Leslie Spier is at present engaged on a thorough study of that tribe which he intends to publish in the near future there would be no excuse for inaccurate or dubious statements in this case. I am glad to be able to say however that in private conversations Dr. Spier has given me the support of his opinion.

ETHNOLOGY.

Ethno-Geography.

The people here dealt with occupy the basin lying immediately to the east of the Warner Range and known as Surprise Valley.

This range acts as a definite and well marked barrier between them and the Pit River Indians. To the north and to the south the range gra-

1. For the ethnology of these people, see Robert H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography*, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, New York. 1924, which contains a complete bibliography to date. On the linguistic side there is practically nothing to cite (for a study of morphological features), except four studies by A. L. Kroeber :

The Shoshonean Dialects of California, University of California Publications, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1907.

Notes on Shoshonean Dialects of Southern California, *Ibid.* Vol. 8, No. 5, 1909.

Notes on the Ute Language, American Anthropologist, Vol. 10. No. 1. 1908.

The Bannock and Shoshoni Languages, *Ibid.* Vol. II, No. 2, 1909.

To the north and to the South the range gra-
dually diminishes, and there the boundaries between the territories claimed by the Paiutes and those claimed by their neighbors are rather indefinite. It is probable that to the south they were separated from the Amitsi (« Dixie Valley ») branch of the Pit Rivers by the desert-like Madeline Plains. This must have been « neutral » ground, visited by both tribes for hunting and root-digging in times of peace, shunned by both in times of quarrel. Such quarrels were frequent between the Pit Rivers and the Paiutes, just as they were frequent between the different groups of the Pit Rivers among themselves. In the latter case the Pits did no scruple to use the help of the different Paiute bands. There must have been a certain amount of traditional enmity between Pits and Paiutes, but not so much as has been currently said. Certain it is that intermarriage was frequent. I have often been told by members of both tribes that after a war they took women and children as captives home. They would marry the women, and the children *were allowed to return to their own people when they were grown up*, but many of them them preferred to stay. This is an important factor for the spread of culture. Another instance of the kind of relation that existed between these two tribes (which are supposed to have belonged to two entirely separate cultures, Shoshonean and Californian) is the well known fact that Jack Williams' father and his two brothers, who were powerful chiefs among the Hammawi group of the Pit Rivers, owed their ascendency partly to the fact that they were related through their mother to the celebrated Paiute chief Winnemucca and therefore wielded a good deal of influence among the Paiutes.

At the northern end of the Warner Range the Paiutes could reach through more or less hilly country the shores of Goose Lake. They do not seem to have had any very permanent settlements there, although the eastern shore of the lake was certainly their ground as far south as Lassen Creek (just north of Davis Creek). South of this was Pit River territory (Qosaleqtawi group). In this vicinity is Sugar Hill, with its "mine" of obsidian. Evidently this particular spot was a bone of contention between the two tribes. The western shore of the lake appears strangely enough to have been unoccupied. Probably the three tribes, Modocs, Pits and Paiutes, all of them felt that it was too far removed from their own centers, and therefore too much exposed in times of war. Anyway the Paiutes seem to have considered the basin east of Warner Range as their proper home, and the northern end of the eastern side of Goose lake as their hunting and fishing ground merely.

Again, when leaving the properly Paiute territory, traveling to the northwest, one has to cross many miles of bad lands and lava beds before

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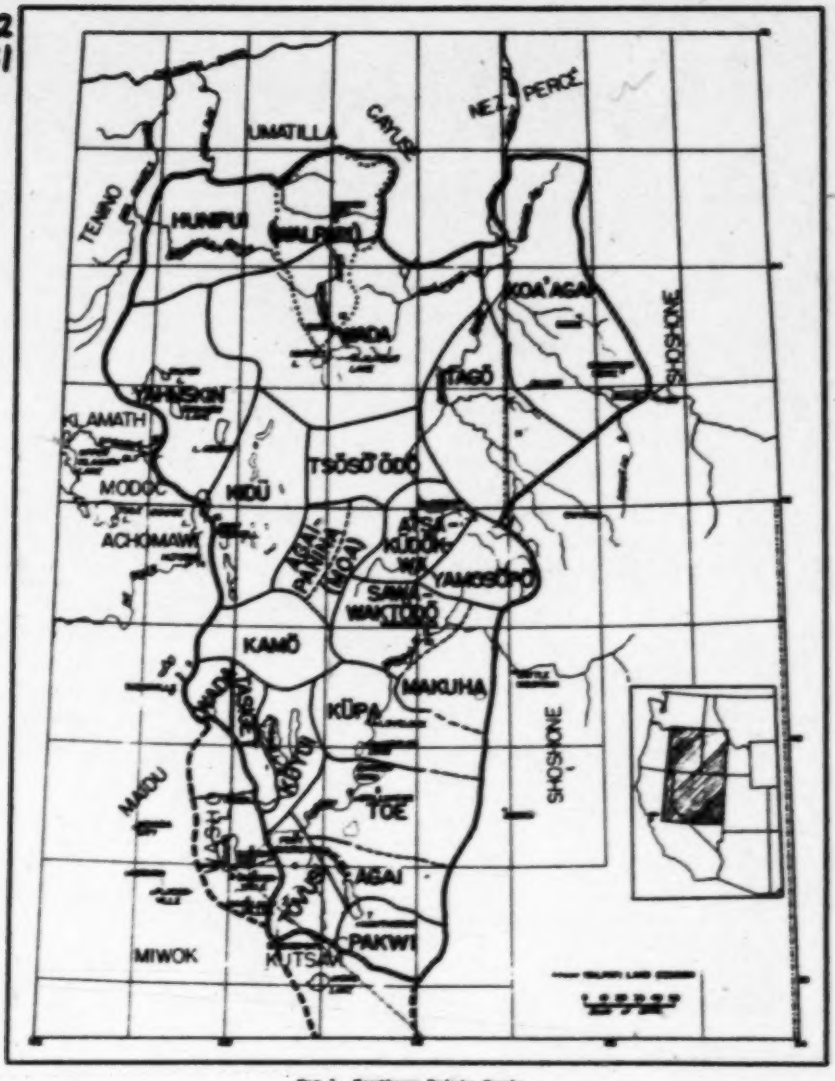

Map 1. Northern Paiute Bands.

[p. iv]

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS: XIV
NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

OMER C. STEWART

INTRODUCTION

121 This study is intended to show the presence or absence of certain elements of culture in representative bands of the Northern Paiute.[1,*] Information from two neighboring peoples, the Achomawi 101 and the Washo, is also included for the purpose 131 of comparison. The Northern Paiute of Owens Valley are not included because of Steward's studies of them.[*] Although some of the groups included here—notably the Hunipui, Walpapi, Wada, Yahuskin, Koa'agai, and Tagö—have been called Snake and Bannock and have had a "Plains type" of culture attributed to them, conclusive evidence is now on record to show that these bands are typically Northern Paiute.[*]

133 The habitat of the Northern Paiute is uniformly desert, being modified somewhat by streams carrying water into the area from the Sierra Nevada, Cascade, Teton, and Blue mountains. Their territory is shaped roughly like an isosceles triangle with its point at Owens Lake, California, and its 275-mile base at Blue Mountains in Oregon, about 600 miles to the north. With the exception of part of the arid plateau in the north, all the area lies within the Basin-Range physiographic province; in fact, the western edge of the Great Basin is approximately coterminous with the Northern Paiute western boundary. Even closer 137 is the coincidence of the western or northern tribal boundary and the edges of the desert sagebrush vegetation zone. The valley flora is dominated by sagebrush, shadscale, and greasewood. The ranges are generally placed in the "Piñon-Juniper Zone,"[*] but the piñon, found sporadically on the Nevada ranges, is absent from Idaho and 136 Oregon. Antelope, deer, and mountain sheep are fairly common throughout the area, although jack rabbit, ground squirrel, and other small game were certainly the chief source of meat. Contrary

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[1]The typewriting and drafting for this manuscript in preparation for publication was done by personnel of Works Progress Administration, Official Project 665-08-3-30, Unit A-15.

[104 1947] [2]Phonetic key.—ö, "mute" e as in French je, le; ü, pronounced much as the u in German kühl or French lune; u, as in German gut; e, as in French été; i, as in French fini; a, as in English far; g, a velar sonant g accompanied by a uvular vibration; r, pronounced as French uvular r; ', glottal stop; v, bilabial V, as in Spanish; ą, nasal as in French. Other letters pronounced as in English.

[*]Julian H. Steward, Culture Element Distributions: XII—Nevada Shoshoni. AR 4: 209-359, 1941.

[*]Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands. AR 2: 127-149, 1939.

[*]Shantz, 21, and map. [p. 361 (A)]

124 one informant in order to get information about
115 certain aspects of culture. When one informant
supplied the data or when several agreed, no in-
[121] dication is made in the list. An asterisk beside
the plus or minus indicates a note when disparate
information was received. The entry in the col-
umn is what I considered the most correct answer
when informants disagreed.

Definite detailed information concerning certain complexes was difficult to get. For example, even the best informants were unable to give consistent and clear answers to queries about house types, dress, property, net manufacture, and techniques in basket weaving. With respect to the first three, difficulties appeared to be due to a lack of fixed styles within a band. With respect to the last two, lack of personal experience seems to be the explanation.

127 While arranging the list for publication, I
114 consulted the available literature dealing with
Northern Paiute culture. Whenever published information disagrees with that in the list, an asterisk is placed in the column to indicate a note concerning the element. Some confirmatory information from earlier sources is contained in the notes (also indicated by asterisk in list). The references to published sources are intended to serve as a guide to other, often fuller, de-

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

101 1, Ts,[1] Tasiget-tuviwarai, "between dwellers,"
●131 occupied Winnemucca and Spanish Spring valleys
NE of Reno, Nevada, and small section of Truckee
River E of Reno.

115 Informant.—Nick Downington, or Tusi Nick
("Little Nick") (indicated as ND), age ca. 86,
born at Doyle, California. His father was from
Winnemucca Valley and his mother from Honey Lake,
California, Wada territory. ND spent a consid-
erable part of his life at Honey Lake, but in
1936 lived with his son-in-law, Harry Sampson, at
the Indian Colony near Reno. In spite of his
age, ND was extremely active physically and men-
tally, had good eyesight, but defective hearing.
Although he understood English fairly well and
could speak it sufficiently to explain almost
everything, his faulty hearing made work without
an interpreter difficult. ND was one of the best-
informed Indians I met all summer and seemed to
know about all phases of Paiute culture. His
knowledge of birds and mammals, manifested by
identifying and naming them from pictures, was
astonishing. Also extensive was his knowledge of
band areas and former band captains, for he gave
information about all bands from Owens Lake to
Oregon. A tireless worker, he seemed to tell all
he knew, which was probably due in part to his
previous experience as informant for Dr. Willard

[1]The numbers indicate the order in which lists were recorded (see map). The band abbreviations, like Ts, correspond with the headings of columns in the element list.

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114

scriptions of data here skeletonized, as a check on information which could not be checked sufficiently in the field, and as a guide to illustrations. Of special value is the comparison of this material with that contained in Kelly's excellent monograph. Most of my data corroborate Kelly's, and disagreements occur usually in connection with traits for which she received con-

128

flicting accounts. Where published information refers to a single band, the abbreviation for that band name is given in the note. Thus: 272la. Ki: +, Kelly, 152, means that Kelly has reported the presence among the Kidü-dökadö of trait number 272la.

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101

Since the Northern Paiute area extends far beyond that originally assigned to the Paviotso by Powell (who described only the Northern Paiute of west-central Nevada, especially the Agai, Kuyui, and Toe), since all the Indians of this area from Blue Mountain, Oregon, to Owens Lake, California, now call themselves Paiute, and since the Indian Service officials and other white people in the area know these Indians as Paiute, I have confined myself to the term Northern Paiute rather than Paviotso. When, however, references cited indicated the trait as common to the Paviotso, I have noted that fact in the Ethnographic Notes section.

BANDS AND INFORMANTS

115

Park. I spent seven days in the Reno Indian Colony. Each morning I worked with ND as long as my throat would stand the required shouting, and each evening Harry Sampson, aged 43, acted as interpreter for three or four hours. Sampson was a good interpreter and interested in "old Indian ways" in spite of being the player-conductor of a jazz band. He attended Carson Indian School from 1898 to 1913. No one else at the Reno Colony seemed willing or able to give much information, although I attempted to talk with several, including Harry Stevens, Ben Rae, Tom Davis, and Nellie Hinckley.

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131

2, Ki, Kuyui-dökadö, "Chamistes cujus eaters," lived on the shores of lower Truckee River and Pyramid and Winnemucca lakes. Much of their original territory is now included in Pyramid Lake Reservation, administrative center for which is Nixon, Nevada.

115

Informants.—Dave Gibson (né Mahwee), or Dabidna (DG), age ca. 75, born on Virginia Mountain during a pinon-nut season. His mother was a Tasiget from Winnemucca Valley and his father was a Kuyui. Lived most of his life at Nixon, in school there from 1879 to 1887; spent two years, 1887-1889, at the government school at Grand Junction, Colorado. Being a reliable and willing worker he has had many positions with Reservation administrators and in 1936 had a contract to transport the mail to and from the railroad. When visited he lived with his son at Nixon. DG's sight and hearing were fairly good, but he was rather

[P.362 (8)]

lethargic. He was less informed than ND and volunteered little except upon direct question. Although he also worked with Park, he seemed inclined to give an answer whether or not he was sure. Because his mail route required half of each day, I used his brother, Dick Mahwee, when he (DG) was not available, thereby obtaining a duplicate list (K2 in list).

3, K2, Kuyui-dökadö.

Informants.—Dick Mahwee (DM), age 59, born at Honey Lake; DG's younger brother. Except for visits to Virginia City and Reno, he lived at Nixon most of his life. Waterman,* who took DM in 1910 to San Francisco to use him in linguistic work, said DM spent his childhood in Long Valley near Honey Lake. When interviewed he was nearly blind, but was otherwise in good health. Having been a "singing doctor" for 20 years and "dance captain" at times, DM was an excellent informant for certain phases of culture.* For material culture his knowledge seemed reliable, but he refused to say anything about childbirth, puberty, and the like, professing complete ignorance. DM spent only four years in school, leaving in 1888. He spoke fair English. I worked with both him and his brother (DG) without interpreters. Ten days were spent in Nixon, slightly more time with DG than with DM.

Additional ethnogeographical data were obtained from Jane Holbrook, Kuyui, and Hattie Whitehead, Kamö. There were several other informants at Nixon who possibly could have given valuable information.

4, Kü, Küpa-dökadö, "ground-squirrel eaters," lived on the lower Humboldt River and near Humboldt Sink. In 1936 several lived in the Indian Colony at Lovelock, Nevada.

Informants.—Gilbert Natchez (GN), age ca. 54, born at Brown's Station, 20 miles SW of Lovelock, Nevada. Both his parents were Küpa. GN lived about 36 years at Nixon, but learned of "old Indian ways" from his mother and grandmother. He lived at Lovelock in 1936. He fell off a train when a young man, which left him badly crippled. His sight and hearing were good. He was forced to remain much of the time at home, which, he said, was spent in talking old Paiute lore. I was impressed by his breadth of knowledge and by his ability to express himself. His lack of personal experience with aboriginal culture limited his knowledge; notwithstanding, he surpassed anyone else I found at Lovelock. He was taken to San Francisco and used as a linguistic informant by A. L. Kroeber. He proved very apt and was kept three months. He learned to write his language in phonetic script and he has a paper published under his name.[10] He also supplied the culture data recorded by Loud.[11] I worked with GN four days.

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*UC-PAAE 10:13-44, 1911.

*ada (crow) is DM's power.

[10]Northern Paiute Verbs. UC-PAAE 20:254-259, 1923.

[11]Lovelock Cave. UC-PAAE 25:1-183, 1929.

115 Skinny Dave, or Parviano, the "Küpa chief," proved to be an unsatisfactory informant. He had unlimited self esteem, but very meager knowledge.

Annie Lowry (AL), age 69, half-breed Küpa, has lived always at Lovelock. She was one of Lowie's informants for myths and had a ready answer for most questions. I asked her particularly about traits concerning women. She had lived too much with white people to be extremely well informed, and some of her information was obviously colored by European concepts.

101 5, To, Toe-dökadö, "tule eaters," possessed
●131 Carson Sink, Carson Lake, and lower Carson River; now found on Stillwater Reservation and at Fallon, Nevada, Indian Colony.

115 Informants.—Bob Springer (BS), age ca. 70, born at Stillwater and always lived there. Parents were Toe. He seemed very active and his sight and hearing were unimpaired, but he was not a willing worker. Although Lowie had used him, he refused to do systematic work with me. He seemed to know sufficient English to be a good informant without an interpreter. I spent four or five hours with him.

Little Pete, or Kupida (LP), age ca. 70, has always lived at Stillwater, as had his parents. LP could hear and see sufficiently, but his English was limited. His knowledge of aboriginal conditions was certainly not the best. He was aided by his wife (a Toe), who also acted as interpreter. About twenty hours were spent with them.

101 6, Tö, Tövusi-dökadö, "grass-nut eaters," in
131 Smith and Mason valleys and upper Walker River in SW Nevada.

115 Informants.—Maggie Wright, or Tugövino (MW), age ca. 75, born at Wellington in Smith Valley. Both parents Tövusi. MW's hearing, sight, and memory were good. She had lived much of the old culture and also had heard about it, and was well informed, but needed an interpreter.

Goggles Wright, or Povawotso (GW), age ca. 85, born near site of Fort Churchill; MW's husband. Father was Agai, mother was Wada of Honey Lake, but GW had lived most of his life at Smith Valley, where he had been a famous hunter. In spite of his age, his sight, hearing, and memory seemed good, and he was willing to tell all he knew. His knowledge supplemented MW's, and their information is combined in the element list. He also needed an interpreter.

Interpreter.—John Wright, age 39, son of MW and GW. John had traveled considerably, having been two or three years in Oklahoma and more than a year at Fort Hall, Idaho. He lauded the Peyote cult as the "Indian New Deal," but, although he desired to, he could not start it at Stillwater, because he did not have a drummer and the fire. Of all the Indians I met the Wright family seemed to be the most active participants in the old Paiute culture. They had just moved their house
[768] and taken up new land because of a death on the previously occupied farm. Old Paiute superstitions and charms were carefully observed. The family lived at Stillwater. I spent three days with them.

[F-263 (X)]

N
101 7, Pa, Pakwi-dökadö, "chub eaters," on the S
131 shores of Walker Lake, in Soda Spring Valley, and at Hawthorne, Nevada.

N
115 Informant.—Dan Voorhees (DV), age 66, born at Hawthorne. Father was Toe; mother "half Pakwi, half Kutsavi" (Mono Lake). Until DV was 30, he had lived at Hawthorne, then he moved to Schurz, Nevada (Walker River Reservation), where he was Indian policeman until 1935. His sight, hearing, and memory were good and he reads and writes English well. Although he seemed well informed, his information was probably equally true for the Agai (north Walker Lake) as for the Pakwi. He had acted as informant for Dr. C. Hart Merriam. He is the most Europeanized Indian I met. My attempts to interview other Indians at Schurz were fruitless.

W
131 8, Wa, Washo (non-Paiute). Washo territory
101 was mostly in the Sierra Nevada Mountains surrounding Lake Tahoe. The valleys just at the eastern foot of the mountains—Truckee Meadows, Washo Lake Valley, Carson Valley, and others—served as winter homes. The territory extended from the southwestern shores of Honey Lake in the N to the North Fork of Walker River in the S. Gardnerville, Carson City, and Reno, in Nevada, are the present Washo centers.

W
115 Informants.—Charlie Rube, age 76, born near Coleville, California, at the extreme S end of Washo territory; both parents Washo. He lived winters near Minden, Nevada, for many years, spending summers near Bijou, California, on the S end of Lake Tahoe, where I found him. Charlie's faculties seemed normal, but his knowledge of English and of Washo culture was limited.

Susie Rube, age ca. 65, Charlie's wife, acted both as informant and interpreter for Charlie, although she steadfastly refused to talk openly to me. Two other old Washo women "unofficially" participated and on many points the women reached a joint decision before giving me an answer. During the four-day interview, the three old women did not let their conversation interfere with their basketmaking.

Dick Bender, 76 years old; Indian policeman at Carson City for thirty-six years (until he went blind in 1930). Dick was used especially for ethnogeographic data. He lived at Carson.

N
101 9, At, Atsa'kudökwa-tuviwarai, "red-butte
131 dwellers," possessed the Quinn River drainage in northern Nevada; live now on the McDermitt Reservation in the same area.

N
115 Informants.—Pete Snap, or Nino'o (PS), aged ca. 60, half-breed, born at McDermitt. Mother an Atsa; during PS's youth she lived with her parents. PS lived most of his life at McDermitt, where I found him. Physically, he was sound in all respects. Although born after the establishment of Fort McDermitt, PS's family continued their nomadic life until he was about 14, so that he actually experienced much of the old culture. In fact, I consider my Atsa list one of the three best. PS was willing to tell all he knew and he had a very adequate command of English. I spent

115 about thirty hours with him. I believe valuable returns would be had from spending more time at McDermitt.

Emma Crutcher and Race Horse Bob, both of McDermitt, were interviewed, but they knew much less than PS.

101 10, Sa, Sawa'waktödö-tuviwarai, "sagebrush-
131 mountain dwellers"; lived along the middle Humboldt River near the present town of Winnemucca, Nevada, where they still have a rather large colony.

115 Informants.—Sam Louie, or Tsa'kwöda (SL), age ca. 70; both parents Sawa. SL has lived at Winnemucca since his birth. He had good eyesight and hearing. His knowledge and his understanding of English were limited, although I worked with him without an interpreter.

Jack Miller, or Tupinatsi (JM), age ca. 75, born at Winnemucca; both parents Sawa. JM received a pension from the War Department in recognition for services rendered as a scout for Captain Wagner during the Bannock Indian War. His hearing was very impaired, yet I could shout loud enough to make him understand. His sight was good. He seemed a little better informed about "old ways" than was SL; they were interviewed together and discussed doubtful traits. JM spoke good English, and interpreted some for SL. I consider the Sawa list one of my least reliable; thirty hours were spent with them.

101 11, Tg, Tagö-töka, on Owyhee River in the SW
131 corner of Idaho and the SE corner of Oregon; are now at Duck Valley Reservation.

115 Informants.—Dick Stanley (DS), age ca. 85, born along Owyhee River near Jordan Valley, not far from Silver City, Idaho. He grew to manhood on the Malheur Reservation, but was exiled to Yakima Reservation for participating in the Bannock War. After five years he was allowed to return to Tagö territory. He married at Yakima. DS lived at Owyhee for fifty years. He was nearly blind and was a little hard of hearing, but his memory was still good. Almost any question would start his talking at great length. Unfortunately he knew little English and my interpreter had difficulty getting detailed information when DS wanted to recall past exploits. He probably knew about the old culture better than appeared to me. I interviewed him about thirty hours.

Taviyoni'i, DS's wife, age ca. 80. Her parents belonged to the Koa'agai band of Paiute who had lived along Snake River near Bruneau and Boise, Idaho. She listened to the interviews
[124] and often made remarks about questions. The interpreter appeared to pay little attention to her, but I could never be sure whether DS or his wife supplied the information I received.

Anne Winnemucca, past 90 years old, supplemented information on chiefs and areas of old bands, but was too feeble for intensive questioning.

Interpreter.—Mrs. Jessie Little, age ca. 40, half-breed. Her command of English was fair, but her backwardness in guiding the discussion along

115 the lines of inquiry of the investigation, together with her inadequate translation of information volunteered by the informant in addition to that dealing with the topic under discussion, detracted from her value as an interpreter.

101 12, Wd, Wada-dökadö, "wada-seed eaters," con-
● 131 tering near Malheur Lake, Oregon. The area claimed by this band extended N to the headwaters of Silver River and E to include most of Malheur River. They formed the largest band on the old Malheur Reservation, which was taken from them after the Bannock War. At present they are located in the Indian Colony at Burns, Oregon.

115 Informants.—Scarface Charlie, or Tokwa'nogit (SC), age ca. 69, born near Crane, Oregon; parents were Wada. SC lived at Burns all his life, visiting Warm Springs Reservation from time to time. He went blind a few years ago, but his hear-
[124] ing was good, and he was alert mentally. I talked with him without an interpreter, but it was difficult at times to make him understand what information I desired. He seemed better able to speak English than to understand it. He insisted he lacked information concerning much of the culture.

Blind Jim, or Töngio (BJ), age 76, born at Anderson Valley, SE of Burns; parents Wada. Except a few years spent at Fort Bidwell, BJ lived at Burns all his life. Blind since the age of 15, he lacked knowledge of certain features of the culture about which even much younger Indians knew. I used an interpreter with him, checking elements not known by SC, or about which there was doubt. Two or three young women acted as interpreters at separate times; none was very good. Dissension between strongly Roman Catholic and "heathen" Indians, and general dislike for white people, combined to make ethnographic work at Burns unpleasant and difficult. When the old Indians knew about the aboriginal culture, such knowledge was difficult to obtain because of their reluctance to talk or to interpret. About thirty hours were spent with SC and this informant.

In addition, Jack Hoodie, age 56, of the Hunipui-dökadö band; Pete Temens, about 65, a Tagö Indian, in 1936 "chief" at Burns; and several others were questioned but refused to give extended interviews. Miss Beatrice Blythe (Mrs. Frank Whiting), from Yale University, was in Burns laboring under these very unfavorable conditions to make a detailed ethnographic study.

[p. 265 (A)]

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Achomawi NR5

N 101 131

13, Ki, Kidü-dökadö, "woodchuck eaters," occupying Surprise Valley, California, and adjacent territory in southern Oregon and northwestern Nevada, were interviewed at Fort Bidwell, California.

N 115

Informants.—Bob Anderson (BA), age ca. 80, born near Gold Mountain; parents Kidü. BA started acting as interpreter and scout for General Crook and later worked in this capacity two years at Fort Harney, Oregon, and six years at Yainax on the Klamath Reservation. He lived at Fort Bidwell forty years. He was nearly blind.

Charlie Washo (CW), age ca. 75, born in Surprise Valley; present "chief"; parents Kidü. CW lived alternately in Susanville and Surprise Valley; was nearly deaf.

Key Henderson (KH), age 66, born near Warner; parents Kidü. KH spent life in Warner and Surprise Valley.

Joshua Brown (JB), age ca. 75, born at Surprise Valley; blind for many years; parents Kidü.

The first three informants combined their resources to tell as much of the old life as they knew; JB, better informed than the others, supplemented their knowledge, but he was too ill to work with me for long periods. Kelly[1] used all except Key Henderson for her monograph on the Surprise Valley Paiute, rating JB "excellent." Although informants told all they knew willingly, circumstances were far from satisfactory in obtaining completely reliable information. Twenty-eight hours were spent with informants.

A 101 131

14, AE, Achomawi (Non-Paiute). Claiming the western slopes of Warner Range, the Achomawi were neighbors of the Kidü Paiute. Their principal area consists of the upper Pit River drainage, and there is still a rather larger colony in the vicinity of Alturas, California.

A 115

Informants.—Sam Fox (SF), aged ca. 80, born and reared near Likely, California; parents both of the Likely band of Achomawi. SF's sight and hearing were still good, and in spite of extremely poor health he was mentally very alert and willing to tell of old culture. His understanding and use of English were good.

Lily Chip (LC), about 60, SF's niece, born near Likely; could supplement SF's knowledge about such things as childbirth, girl's puberty, and other topics. I consider the Achomawi list among the best recorded: twenty-four hours were spent with informants.

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[1] UC-PAAE 31:69, 1932.

[p. 365 (B)]

5: Park E-5 (1935) 1934
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

PAVIOTSO SHAMANISM

By WILLARD Z. PARK

INTRODUCTION

THE information for the present paper was collected in the course of a field trip to the Nevada Paviotso in the summer of 1933. The reservations at Pyramid lake and Walker lake were visited as well as the Paviotso settlements at Reno, Fallon, and Yerington.

In pre-Columbian days the Paviotso occupied almost the entire northwestern part of Nevada. A closely affiliated band was in Long valley and Honey Lake valley of California. This band ranged from the eastern shores of Honey lake to Pyramid lake in Nevada. Today many of them live on the reservation at Pyramid lake or in the Indian colony at Reno.

Before their confinement to the reservations, the Paviotso or Northern Paiute lived a semi-nomadic life. Fishing in Walker lake and Pyramid lake and the taking of fish from the Truckee and Walker rivers during the spawning season provided an important share of their diet. In the spring and summer the women ranged over the semi-arid hills and valleys of their habitat, gathering wild seeds and roots while the men hunted deer, antelope, rabbits and other game, or fished. In the fall the entire population moved up into the mountains for the pinenut harvest. When winter set in they settled on the shores of the lakes and along the river banks. It was during this season that the Paviotso were most sedentary. The women stayed in camp and the men hunted not more than a days journey from their winter quarters. Throughout most of the year these people ranged over the country in small groups of one or two families. They came together in large bands only for communal undertakings such as the rabbit or antelope drive or a concentrated attack on their traditional enemies, the Pitt river Indians. The big festival dances held in the spring and fall and religious dances held at the call of a messiah of the Ghost dance movements would also bring large numbers together for a short time. Shamanistic treatment of the sick would attract all the people from camps within an easy journey to the sick man's house.

Many of the old religious beliefs and practices flourish today among the Paviotso in Nevada. Shamans continue to treat the sick and those suffering from gunshot wounds. Murders motivated by a suspicion of witchcraft have occurred within the last few years. There is a feeling among most of the Paviotso, however, that shamans are no longer as powerful as they were in the old days. Many informants expressed a strong opinion that Jack Wilson, or Wovoka, the messiah of the 1890 Ghost dance movement, was the last powerful shaman. The failure of the shaman's powers

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Vol. 2 No. 2 ETHNOHISTORY Spring, 1955

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING[1]

Part 1

Erminie Wheeler Voegelin
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For several decades two so-called "Snake"[2] groups, the Yahuskin and Walpapi, have been accepted by ethnographers as two Northern Paiute-speaking bands which existed in aboriginal times and were located in definable areas within what is now central Oregon.[3] This acceptance and localization of the Yahuskin and Walpapi[4] has rested on the fact that two treaties were made by the United States in 1864 and 1865,[5] respectively, with the "Ya-hoos-kin Band of Snake Indians" and the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians", and that both "Yahooskins" and "Wollpahpees" are mentioned in Bureau of Indian Affairs reports and correspondence for several years after the treaties had been negotiated. Analysis of heretofore unused documentary material shows, however, that neither one of these two so-called bands of Snake Indians had any aboriginal validity as definitely localized, organized groups. The treaty-signing Yahuskin of 1864 consisted of a score or so of Great Basin Northern Paiute, deriving at that specific date from the Surprise Valley-Warner Valley region in northeastern California and south-central Oregon. They

[Text continues on page 97]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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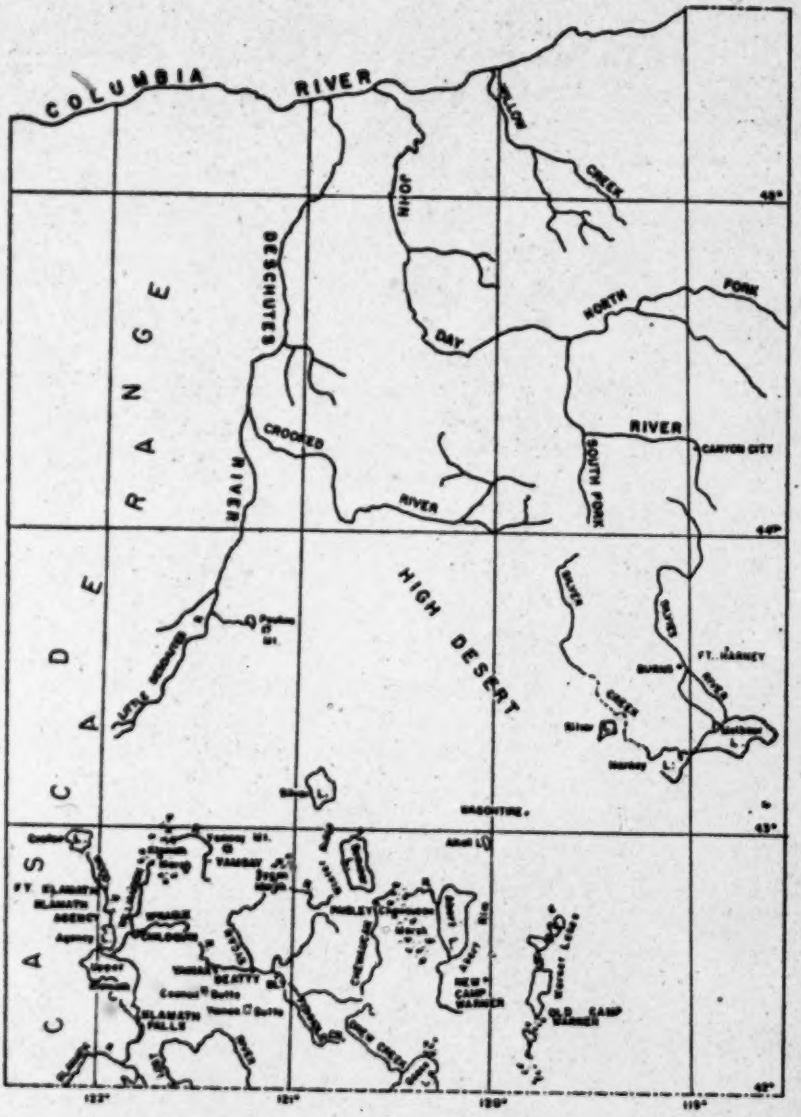

Fig. 1. MAP OF CENTRAL OREGON.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

did not derive, at the time they signed the treaty, from the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region of central Oregon, although this latter region is the one they presumably ceded, and the one customarily assigned to them by ethnographers. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records were not Great Basin Paiute, but a small Klamath-speaking group which has been virtually unnoticed up to now, but which, in pre- and post-treaty times, occupied a strategic borderline position in upper Sprague River Valley between the Klamath Marsh-Upper Klamath Lake Klamath Indians to the west and the Great Basin Northern Paiute-speaking peoples to the east.[6] The treaty-signing Walpapi of 1865 were a mounted, predatory, fluctuating group of Great Basin Northern Paiute and other Indians who ranged throughout central Oregon from ca. 1859 to 1867 under Panaŋa (vars., Paulina, Pahnine, Polini, etc.),[7] an extremely able Northern Paiute post-White war leader. The Walpapi were not localized in a large, heart-shaped area extending from Burns, Ore., to some forty miles north of Canyon City, Ore., although this is the area they ceded. The post-treaty, Klamath Reservation Walpapi of Klamath Agency records consisted of something over a hundred Northern Paiute Indians who, in 1867 and 1868 moved or were removed from the Silver-Summer lakes region at the western edge of the Great Basin to upper Sprague River Valley on the Klamath Reservation; their removal to the Reservation occurred some three years after the Walpapi treaty of 1865 had been negotiated.

The confusion worse confounded that has existed from 1864 on in Bureau of Indian Affairs documents and the ethnographic literature, regarding the identity and provenience of the Yahuskin and Walpapi Indians stems from four main causes: abysmal ignorance concerning the Northern Paiute-speaking peoples of central and eastern Oregon on the part of Indian Bureau officials in the 1860's when treaties were being negotiated with them;[8] manipulation of Klamath Agency funds and groups to meet very real exigencies in the troubled 1860's and 1870's;[9] misinterpretation or neglect by ethnographers of relevant documentary material relating to the Klamath and westernmost Northern Paiute;[10] and the willingness of ethnographers to accept treaty-designated groups as valid aboriginal groups. These four main causes become obvious as we ex-

101 114 648 amine in detail the history of the so-called "Yahooskin" and "Wollpahpe Snakes", or better, the history of the western Great Basin, Northern Paiute-speaking population of central Oregon.

2. The "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians"

648 2.1. The Treaty Yahooskins. First specific mention of the Yahuskin, as far as we have been able to determine, is as signatories to a treaty of cession held at Council Grove near Ft. Klamath, Ore., in October, 1864.[11] Two "chiefs", Kile-to-ak and Sky-te-ock-et, of the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians", together with 21 Klamath and four Modoc "chiefs and headmen" signed this treaty, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Commissioners J. W. Perit Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and William Logan, Indian Agent at Warm Springs Reservation, Ore.[12]

131 648 The area ceded extended eastward from the summit of the Cascades to Harney Lake, and from the 44th parallel southward some distance below the 42nd parallel (present Oregon-California boundary line).[12a] The Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region, or the eastern half of the total area ceded, is the portion which the "Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" presumably relinquished, but since the treaty was a joint one, the areas signed away by each of the three "tribes" or "bands" represented are not explicitly allocated.[13]

648 In a contemporary document, a letter written the day the treaty was signed, Capt. William Kelly, commanding Ft. Klamath, does not mention the Yahuskin, but merely says, "The treaty with the Klamath, Modoc, and a Small Band of Snake Indians, mentioned in my letter of yesterday, has been signed today....There were present of the Snakes....."[14]

Very little is known about the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty, or about the events that led up to it. We do know that in August or September, 1864, Huntington visited Ft. Klamath, "held a conference with chiefs and such of the headmen as could be collected on short notice," and made arrangements for the treaty council in October. No "Snakes" attended this preliminary conference.[15] Since no minutes have been preserved, either of the preliminary conference or the actual treaty council, we do not know certainly who served as interpreters at the confer-

648 in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, and expressed a willingness to go upon the Klamath Reservation, when the treaty should be ratified"[23] (underlining ours).

So much for the material in Drew's Official Report. A letter from Drew, written in his camp at Goose Lake on July 18, 1864 to the Assistant Adjutant General, U. S. A., San Francisco, Calif., gives additional details about this incident and the Indians. The letter reads in part as follows:

> Yesterday the petty chief and two others of the band of Indians of this vicinity came into camp by my direction.... This morning, after gaining what information I could respecting their numbers, etc., I dismissed them and sent them from camp in company with the two Indian messengers who had brought them. Soon after their departure the messengers returned and stated that the other three [the Indian visitors] had been ambushed and fired upon by four of the party of citizens who came yesterday, and they thought all were killed. I immediately dispatched a detachment of ten men in pursuit....The object of the attack upon these Indians was to get possession of two horses, but the unarmed Indians being joined just then by armed comrades, the result is as stated. Both of the horses have been brought in....They are inferior animals and poorly repay the cost of getting them. No Indian depredations are reported to have been committed in this vicinity, though the principal traveled route from Red Bluff and Fort Crook to John Day's River and vicinity passes directly through the country which these Indians occupy..."[24] (all underlining ours).

● [131]

101 131 That the three Snake Indians brought to Drew's camp were, in 1864, definitely associated with the region in which they were encountered, and that they and their comrades did not constitute one of the roving, predatory Snake groups of the 1860's which were operating under notorious war leaders and plundering pack trains, emigrant parties, and ranchers, seems evident from Drew's letter. A few days before he encamped on Goose Lake, Drew had searched Sprague River Valley for just such marauders.[25] [648]

It also seems clear that the Indians Drew met did not customarily live in Goose Lake Valley, which extends for some 10-15 miles north of

the head of Goose Lake, between this lake and Silver, Summer and Abert lakes. Drew describes upper Goose Lake Valley, which forms part of the Goose Lake Basin, and says of its inhabitants: "Among the Snakes, Modoc, upper Pitt River, Klamath and Piute Indians, Goose Lake Valley, or that portion of it which lies to the northward of the Lakes, is neutral ground; neither tribe claiming it especially, but each using it at will for hunting and fishing, and gathering the wild rye for winter food."[26] Elsewhere he says, "As has already been stated in this report, the upper portion of Goose Lake Valley is neutral ground as between the Snake, Piute, Upper Pitt River, Modoc and Klamath Indians; but the country infested by each of these tribes respectively, borders directly upon it, and taken as a whole, form [sic] its entire boundary."[27] The journalist Stephen Powers confirms Drew; writing in the 1870's Powers also expressly notes that the "great plains" north of Goose Lake were not inhabited by Indians.[28]

That the Snakes Drew met, and the Snakes at the Klamath treaty-signing of October, 1864, belonged to one and the same group also seems evident. Furthermore, there was only one Klamath treaty council which was attended by Snakes between July 17, 1864 (when Drew met the three Snake Indians at Goose Lake) and January 12, 1865 (the date of Drew's Official Report). This was the treaty council held in October, 1864, near Ft. Klamath. The so-called Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians were the only Snakes present at the 1864 Klamath treaty council; both Huntington and Capt. Kelly agree on this point.[29] Therefore the Snakes whom Drew had in camp July 17-18, 1864, who were "subsequently....represented in a treaty council held with the Klamaths by Mr. Huntington"[30] in October of the same year, must have been part of that "Small Band of Snake Indians" mentioned by Capt. Kelly as present at the treaty-signing,[31] whom Huntington designates as "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians."[32]

Where Huntington got the name "Yahooskin" for the twenty-two Northern Paiute who attended the treaty council will probably never be certainly known. Seemingly it was merely a treaty name, first recorded by Huntington in the October 14, 1864 treaty; it reappears thereafter only in Indian Affairs records, not in Army records. As already noted, it is not used by Capt. Kelly in his letter enumerating the number of Indians pre-

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

101 sent for treaty negotiations, which was written the day the treaty was signed. A suggested etymology for Yahuskin in the Klamath language is as follows: ya (prefix) down, down below;[34] hu (morpheme) far off, in the distance, either visibly or so far as to be invisible;[35] -kni (suffix) those of, people of,[36] Anglicised as -kin instead of Klamath -kni.[37] According to this etymology, Yahuskin would mean people of far off down below, an apt name from the Klamath viewpoint.[38] Albert S. Gatschet is silent, however, on the name being of Klamath origin, and from what Leslie Spier[39] reports, it seems certain that Yahuskin is not an old Klamath name for a particular Northern Paiute group. It may be that it was a descriptive name made up for Huntington by a Klamath speaker at the treaty.

648 Why a "Small Band of Snake Indians" was willing to attend the October, 1864 treaty council becomes understandable in the light of the Drew material. Drew had befriended the three Snakes whom the White prospectors had attacked,[40] and had also had the Indians' horses, "inferior animals" though they were, returned to them. Fair treatment of this sort[41] plus their probably being told by their K'lamath neighbors that food and goods would be distributed at the treaty negotiations,[42] in all likelihood induced the eleven Snake men, five women and six children, to go to Ft. Klamath, Lt. Col. Drew's headquarters, for the treaty proceedings.

114 The pre-treaty identification of those "Snakes" who signed the Kla-
101 math treaty of October 14, 1864 being thus determined, their customary
● 131 range in 1864 can be established in the light of what we know about some of the westernmost Northern Paiute peoples in the 1860's from ethnographic accounts by Isabel Kelly, Omer C. Stewart, and Beatrice Blyth Whiting.[43]

101 It will be recalled that in 1864 Drew's scouts found the three Snake
131 Indians and their companions either up in the Warner Range or between the western slope of the Warners and Drew's camp on the northeastern shore of Goose Lake near its head. It will also be recalled that Drew nowhere indicates that these Indians were associated with the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region north of the then uninhabited upper Goose Lake Valley.[44]

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

According to Kelly, those Northern Paiute or Snakes who customarily used the western slopes of the Warners for summer and fall hunting in the 1860's were the ancestors of the Northern Paiute now known as the Surprise Valley Paiute or Gidu'tikadu (vars., Kidutokado, Gididika) Ground Hog Eaters, Woodchuck Eaters.[45] Kelly, who has published the basic ethnography on the Northern Paiute of Surprise Valley, Calif., obtained her field data from several Paiute informants born in Surprise Valley ca. 1860-1870;[46] the information they gave Kelly relates largely to that region and period. Kelly's informants stated that their people were accustomed to winter at favored spots east of the Warner Range in Warner Valley and Surprise Valley, and that in summer and fall they hunted as far west as the eastern shore of Goose Lake, from Buck Creek or Fandango Creek northward to the head of the lake. This region west of the Warners was regarded as a hunting province; informants told Kelly explicitly that, "We didn't own it, we just hunted there."[47] The statements of a Surprise Valley Paiute at the Reno hearings in 1951 confirm this data of Kelly's on the use, by Surprise Valley Paiute hunting parties, of the country west of the Warners.[48]

Therefore it would seem that the three Snakes interviewed by Drew, who were hunting in the summer of 1864 in the Warners in country which Drew says they "occupied," if identifiable with any particular locale are identifiable with the Surprise – Warner valleys area. This is a well watered region which we know was frequented by Northern Paiute from at least the 1820's onward.[49]

The fact that at the Klamath treaty-signing in 1864 a few Northern Paiute from the Surprise Valley region were willing to cede the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes area of some 5,000 square miles, thirty to forty miles northwest of their customary range, is a striking illustration of the lack of any definite concept of land ownership which, as an experienced Army officer of that period observed,[50] prevailed among these people. Accustomed as the Northern Paiute were to wander at will over large arid tracts in their quest for food, there is every probability that some or all of the "Snakes" present at the treaty-signing knew the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region; it would be surprising if they did not. But that they in any sense "owned" this region or were so closely associated

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

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423 with it as to be able to sign it away at a treaty, would appear improb-
648 able in the light of Drew's and Kelly's data. The treaty Yahuskin thus
131 dissolve as representing a Northern Paiute aboriginal group or "band"
[101] living in the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region.

We turn now to the post-treaty, Reservation Yahuskin of Klamath Agency records.

K
101 2. 2. The Reservation Yahooskin. Acceptance of the Yahuskin by eth-
114 nographers as representing an aboriginal group has been bolstered by the fact that "Yahooskins" are referred to, and population figures given for them, in Klamath Reservation reports throughout the first decade the Reservation was in existence (1865-1875).[51] It has generally been assumed that these Yahooskins of Agency record were identical with the pre-Reservation Yahooskin who signed the 1864 treaty, by all ethnographers concerned with them except Nash. The latter, in an undocumented statement, remarks that soon after the treaty was signed, the people designated as Yahooskin on the Klamath Reservation were those "Klamath who had their permanent settlements in Sprague River Valley and had intermarried to some extent with the Modoc. Their habitat had been, and still is, the Eastern end of Klamath Reservation, known locally as the 'Upper End'."[52]

Little notice has been taken of this remark of Nash's, since no proof in the form of documentation was offered for it. However, the existence of a pre-treaty, upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group becomes abundantly clear from Drew's account of his trip through Sprague River Valley in July, 1864. In his official report Drew records that the day after setting out from Ft. Klamath on the Owyhee expedition, he learned that a party of hostile Snakes had attacked a Mr. Richardson's wagon train on the Yreka-Canyon City route, around Silver Lake, Ore., some 60 miles northeast of Ft. Klamath. The Indians had forced the train to fall back to John Day's Ford on upper Sprague River.[53] Drew, who had been ordered into the field to punish and to prevent just such hostilities, on being informed of the attack marched his expedition eastward from Williamson River up Sprague River Valley, which is a forty-mile long, east-west valley located east of Upper Klamath Lake.[54] Well east in Sprague River Valley Drew met Indians, of whom he says:

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR 10

K N 648

mer of 1866 Major W. V. Rinehart, then commanding Ft. Klamath, took a number of Snakes captive, "with the assistance of the Klamaths and Yahooskins."[80]

K N 101 131 648 721

That Applegate did not consider the Yahuskin to be "Snakes proper," although he refers to them officially as "Yahooskin Snakes" is evident from his first annual report, dated August 6, 1866. In this report he remarks, "There are at present no Snakes proper on the reservation unless we except some prisoners in the custody of the military at Fort Klamath....I am led to believe....that there is now a union of all the Snakes proper [underlining ours] for a more determined war....The universal belief among the Klamaths and Yahooskins is that the Snakes are all for war...'The Klamaths and Yahooskins,' Major Rinehart says, 'are eager to vindicate their loyalty, and would willingly become our allies in an invasion of the Snake domain.'"[81]

K N 648 166

By the end of September, 1866, the Snakes captured by Major Rinehart during the summer had evidently been removed to Sprague River Valley. Applegate writes, in his monthly report for Sept. 30, 1866:

> There are some Snake Indians on the Reservation in Moshenkosket's Country [Upper Sprague River Valley], in the care of that chief and his people [underlining ours]. They are the same who were placed there by Major Rinehart, by my permission. I understand that they desire to talk with me and I have appointed the 3rd of October for a talk with them. I do not have confidence that they are disposed to be peaceable only so far as they think it may bring them winter subsistence, and....I suspect that they have, where they are now, constant communication with war parties, and if required to come down nearer to the Fort and the Lower Klamath Indians, so that their communication with Paunine [Panai'na] would have to cease they would possibly leave the Reservation, if they could make their escape.[82]

N 648 166

Three days later, as scheduled, Applegate met these same Snakes at the Agency. The Snakes professed friendship, asked for winter subsistence and permission to remain in Sprague River Valley. Applegate told them they would have to

> ...come down to Council Grove, near the agency, where they could be cared for and protected. This they agreed to

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
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K 101 Hoo-ne-boo-ly Snakes.[87] No fifth group (the Yahooskin) is included in the tabulation, as it was in Huntington's 1865 listing of five "Snake bands."[88]

K N 101 131 b) Late in 1868 Huntington made a trip through south-central Oregon; in a long unpublished account of this trip, written at Umatilla Indian Agency and dated December 22, 1868,[89] Huntington lists and describes all the Snake groups in south-central Oregon. The only Snakes he mentions as being on Klamath Reservation are a destitute group of "about 130 souls" in Sprague River Valley, at "Yinax."[90] It is a matter of record that this group of 130 Snakes were newcomers to Sprague River Valley, having moved there only a few months before Huntington visited it.[91] We know that the Sprague River Klamath or "Yahooskin" were also on the Reservation in 1868; therefore, since no reference is made to them it is plain that Huntington, like Applegate, did not regard them as Snakes.

[K 166] c) In 1870 Klamath Sub-agent Capt. O. C. Knapp refers in his Annual Report to "the Yahooskins, half Klamaths, half Snakes."[92]

K N 166 648 d) In 1872, after Yainax sub-station had been established at the eastern ("upper") end of Klamath Reservation, in middle Sprague River Valley,[93] I. D. Applegate, Yainax sub-agent, enumerated the four groups of Indians under his care at Yainax Station. Applegate lists Schonchin's group of Modoc who were removed to Yainax in 1870;[93] Ocheo's band of Snakes, which was moved to Yainax from Camp Warner in 1869;[94] a Silver-Summer lakes band of Snakes which moved to Yainax in 1868;[95] and finally, "the Sprague River band."[96] This latter group is, obviously, the Klamath-Snake group under Moctunkas'kEt which Drew had encountered in Sprague River Valley in 1864. It is also, obviously, equatable by elimination with the post-Reservation Yahuskin who were in the Valley but who are not mentioned by I. D. Applegate.

K N 161 e) In 1875 population figures for Klamath Agency are given as follows: Klamaths 543, Modocs 103, Piutes 100,[97] Wal-pah-pe Snakes 101, Yahooskin Snakes 143.[98] In 1876 the Yahooskin are silently combined with the Klamath, in the following figures: Klamaths 676 (as against 543 of the year before), Modocs 100, Pi-ute Snakes 100, Walpahpe Snakes 137.[99] The 1877 figures are Klamath 667, Modoc 93, Walpahpee Snake 137.[100] In 1878 figures are given only for the Klamath (681), the Modoc (101), and the "Walpahpee or Yahooskin Snake" (148); the latter entry is clearly a con-

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fusion.[182] In 1880 and thereafter population figures are for Klamath, Modoc, and Snake Indians.[183] K N 161

f) In 1926 Simon Isaac, a Klamath Indian, testified that the Yahuskin (by which he meant the post-Reservation Yahuskin) were at the 1864 treaty-signing, that he had seen them there, and that Moctunkas'kEt (who signed the treaty as a Klamath) was their chief. Isaac then volunteered that "the Paiutes [Walpapi Snakes] came to the Reservation two years later"—but unfortunately his volunteered testimony concerning the Paiutes was not pursued.[183] N K 101 166 648

g) In 1951 Ocho Winnemucca, a Northern Paiute,[184] when asked through an interpreter at the Reno hearing if he had ever heard of the people called Yahuskin, said: "Yes, he knows the one. In Oregon. He says are different tribe [from the Paiute]. That was the Chiliquin.'"[185] Asked again if the Yahuskin were Paiute, he stated positively, " 'No,' different altogether.' " Asked a third time "'How about the Yahuskins, were they Piute?' " his answer was, " 'No, he says they're not Piutes.' "[186] Incredible as Winnemucca's replies seemed at the time to the attorney questioning him the historical data amply support his identification of the post-Reservation Yahuskin as being "Chiliquin" (Klamath), and not "Piute" (Northern Paiute). N K 101

3. Northern Paiute of the Silver-Summer-Abert Lakes Region. That there were Indians who frequented the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in the first half of the 19th century and that these were probably Northern Paiute-speaking peoples, is indicated in various early sources. That these people were not "The Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians" who ceded this region in the treaty of October 14, 1864 and that they were not the "Yahooskins" of post-treaty Klamath Agency records, has been shown. Who, then, were they? N 101 131 ● 114

Early source material yields hints, only, in answer to this question. On May 27, 1827, Peter Skene Ogden, Chief Trader in charge of a Hudson's Bay Company Snake Brigade, had fifty-six horses stolen from his brigade near "Salt Lake" (Abert Lake?). Ogden remarks, "Shd. the thieves be Snakes we may find a guide." Two days later he notes that "the thieves' camp consisted of 14 tents." On June 1st, while on the borders of some "muddy lakes" (Warner Lakes?) Ogden "found huts of N 648 579

Snakes, I suppose," and three days later his party saw Indians in the vicinity of the lakes.[107]

Five years later, on Oct. 13, 1832, John Work, another Hudson's Bay Company trader and Ogden's successor as a leader of the Snake brigades, was at Alkali Lake (?), northeast of Abert Lake, on his second expedition to the "the Snake country." In his journal Work records that at Alkali Lake there were "tracks of Indians quite fresh in the hills and along the lake but none of them have returned to visit us yet. There is a beaten track along the lake frequented by horses as well as foot people."[108] A day later, when the fur brigade was camped somewhere between Wagontire and Alkali Lake, one of Work's men, Bte. Gardispie, who "was going off to the hills to hunt sheep about 10 Oclock in the morning," on approaching the rocks at the bottom of the hill encountered seven Indians who were concealed behind a large stone in the long grass. Gardispie

> "did not perceive them until he was close too when they immediately started up and discharged their arrows at him two of which passed through his capot and two struck the horse one of which wounded him mortally he was fortunate in getting out of their reach where he fired at them but unfortunately missed and seeing some of the people [members of the brigade] coming to his aid they fled into the rocks where they could not be found. This happened within sight and even within cry of the camp. The villains could have no other motive but to possess themselves of his horse, arms, and clothes. It was only this morning I had given orders to the people that should they fall in with any of the natives to use them kindly and endeavour to bring them to the camp so that we might get information from them. It will be difficult to keep some of the people on any terms with them now.[109]

Work and his party proceeded to the west shore of Abert ("Salt") Lake and encamped at a small freshwater spring on October 16-17. This station seemed to be "a usual encampment of the Indians. At some seasons they probably kill a good many sheep & other animals as the spoils of them remain about the place."[110] Three days later, Work was at Hunter's Hot Springs, north of Goose Lake. In these springs he found "a number of human schulls and other bones....but how they came there is no knowing."[111]

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Eleven years after Work had been at Abert Lake John C. Frémont discovered Summer Lake, which Frémont named. Frémont and his party traveled south along the west shore of Summer Lake, following a well-beaten Indian trail which led to Chewaucan River and Chewaucan Marsh. At the marsh the ground appeared as though it had been ploughed; Frémont concluded that Indians had been digging tubers, but what these were he could not discover.[112] In the vicinity of the marsh Frémont also found "frequent trails, and fresh tracks of Indians," but encountered no natives.[113] From Chewaucan Marsh Frémont went eastward to Abert Lake, which he also named. On the eastern, or Abert Rim side of the lake Frémont found a well beaten Indian trail, which he followed southward,[114] but again he met no Indians. It was not until he was well out of the Summer-Abert lakes region and south of the 42nd parallel that he actually encountered "some Snake Indians"; by accident. members of his party almost rode over two huts of Snakes, in Long or Surprise valleys, early in January, 1844.[115]

From 1845 onward the Silver-Summer lakes region may have been visited in its northern half by loosely organized companies of Oregon pioneers in search of the "Blue Bucket Diggings," but of such parties we know little, except that their members were often attacked by "Indians."[116] "Some morning about daylight, twenty or thirty red blanketed men, with hideous yells would attack the sleeping men. Then would result a stampede....The few cool heads would make a stand, while the savages after getting away with the horses, would beat a retreat, leaving the gold hunters to straggle afoot back across the mountains [Cascades] to the [Willamette Valley] settlements."[117] Such attacks, however, seem to have been mostly north of the Silver-Summer lakes region.

In 1853 "the lost wagon train of 1853" went south of the lakes (Malheur and Harney lakes, or Silver and Summer lakes?) instead of north of them, trying to reach the Willamette Valley, and had "a very hard time of it."[118] In that same year, as we have already noted, Superintendent Joel Palmer sent Indian Agent J. M. Garrison to visit the Indians between the headwaters of the Willamette and Fort Boise, but Garrison failed in this mission.[119] The next year Capt. Jesse Walker, commanding a company of California volunteer militia, campaigned in Surprise

and Warner valleys. From Warner Valley Walker marched his men across the Warner Range westward, to attack an Indian encampment on the west side of the Warners near the head of Goose Lake Valley. The volunteers "killed two Indians and took another prisoner" at the Indian camp; the company then returned to Warner Valley.[120]

From Ogden's time on, west-east travelers across central Oregon had used the Crooked River route north of Silver and Summer Lakes; in 1846 a more southerly road was laid out.[121] Neither of these "great thoroughfares leading to the States"[122] passed through, or even very near the Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region, however. Hence this latter region, bounded on the west by the 1,000-foot high Winter Ridge,[123] on the north by a wide expanse of barren high desert,[124] on the east by Abert Rim and the Warner Range, and on the south by mountains and Goose Lake Valley, remained until a relatively late date an isolated, unexplored pocket. By 1859, however, there was a north-south road leading from Yreka in northern California to northeastern Oregon and Washington Territory, which passed through the Sprague River Valley-Silver Lake country.[125] After the gold strikes around Canyon City in the Blue Mountains, and also in the Nez Perce Mountains and around Oro Fino, Idaho during the early 1860's,[126] this north-south trail was well traveled, and was popularly referred to as the "Canyon City Road."[127] Indian depredations on supply trains and mining parties using the Canyon City Road were notable in the late 1850's and early 1860's;[128] some of these attacks, as we have already seen, occurred on the Sprague River-Silver Lake section of the road.[129] Such attacks, however, made by mounted Indians under a leader like Panai'na, who in the early 1860's was operating throughout central Oregon, furnish practically no clues as to whether any Indians were actually living in the Summer-Silver-Abert lakes basin at this time. A map dated January 1, 1864 and signed by Huntington, which shows the location of Oregon Indians, does not assign any Indians to the regions north of Summer and Abert lakes, nor to the region east of Abert Lake, between Abert and Harney lakes.[130]

In the spring and summer of 1864 one scouting party and three major military expeditions took the field against the Snakes of central and eastern Oregon,[131] but none of these expeditions operated in the

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Oregon who roamed east of the Warner Range, then for all the Indians in central Oregon previously referred to as Snakes. See Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14, for the earliest (1854) and the restricted use of Piute; RCIA 1870 (CDS #1449) pp. 598-599 for a more extended application of the name.

N 101 197 [131]

At the present time "Northern Paiute" is the name used to distinguish the Indians of central and eastern Oregon, southwestern Idaho, northeastern California and western Nevada, from the northern Arizona-southeastern Nevada "Southern Paiute" who speak a related, but different Uto-Aztekan language, unintelligible with Northern Paiute. Reasons for the general adoption of the name Northern Paiute are given in Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53, Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, pp. 402-407, especially pp. 405-407; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, pp. 128-129. See also Julian H. Steward, Owens Valley Paiute, p. 235, and Basin-Plateau, Fig. 1 and p. ix.

N 114 101

3. Acceptance of the Yahuskin and Walpapi by ethnographers as aboriginal bands began in 1879 and has continued to the present time. See Gatschet, Classification, p. 410, Indian Languages, p. 753, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. xxxv; BAE-B 30, pt. 2, pp. 557, 983, 901; Berreman, Tribal Distribution, pp. 47-53; Ray and Others, Tribal Distribution, p. 406; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and pp. 131-132; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, p. 21; Driver and Others, Map. Omer C. Stewart, in particular, accepts the Walpapi and Yahuskin as aboriginal, landowning, politically organized bands, and maps them as such. His Yahuskin area contains "about 5,000 sq. mi." (ibid., map and pp. 131-132) and his "Hunipuitoka or Walpapi" area about 7,000 sq. mi. (idem).

N 101 128

4. Gatschet's 1879 spelling of Yahuskin and Walpapi (Classification, p. 410) has been generally adopted in the ethnographic literature. In BIA reports and correspondence the treaty-spellings (see below), or variants thereof, are customarily used.

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5. Treaty Between the United States of America and the Klamath and Moadoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians; Concluded, October 14, 1864; Ratification advised, with Amendments, July 2, 1866; Amendments assented to, December 10, 1869; Proclaimed February 17, 1870 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383).

Treaty Between the United States of America and the Wollpah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians; Concluded August 12, 1865; Ratification advised July 5, 1866; Proclaimed July 10, 1866 (Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683).

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6. Published lists of Klamath "divisions" or groups as given by Leslie Spier (Klamath Ethnography, pp. 23-26) and Edward S. Curtis (North American Indian, vol. 13, pp. 237-239) do not include any upper Sprague River Valley Klamath group. Spier's omission is probably due

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Two other valuable and fugitive documents, both Mss, are two letterbooks of official letters received, 1869-1872, and letters sent, 1870-1877, from Klamath Agency and Yainax Station; these are now on deposit at Klamath Agency. Nash seems to have been the only ethnologist writing on the Klamath who had consulted these letterbooks prior to 1952 (Place of Religious Revivalism, fn. 1).

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11. See fn. 5. The Indians gathered first at Kowasti, on Agency Lake, but after a few days removed to Council Grove, nearer Ft. Klamath (see fn. 18, below).

12. Huntington was the chief negotiator. He had been instructed to arrange with Superintendent of Indian Affairs for California A. E. Wylie who, since the Modoc lived partly in California, was to serve as the second commissioner, but Wylie was unable to attend. Huntington therefore appointed Warm Springs Indian Agent William Logan, of the Oregon Superintendency, to serve (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-270; see also RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 256-259, and NA. NIA. OSFP. Letter Book "H" pp. 743-745, Huntington to Maltby, Salem, Ore., Oct. 28, 1865).

12a. For areas ceded and reserved see Royce, Indian Land Cessions, p. 834, and maps 8 and 51 (California 2, Oregon 1), areas No. 462, 463.

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13. According to plaintiff's Amended Petition in Docket No. 100 before the Indian Claims Commission the ceded area contained 13,700,000 acres, of which 1,650,000 acres were set apart for an Indian Reservation (Klamath Reservation). Since neither the Klamath nor Modoc groups had any settlements in the eastern half of the ceded area (Silver-Summer-Abert-Harney lakes region), ethnographers have taken for granted that this part of the total area was ceded on the authority of the twenty-two Yahooskin Snakes present at the treaty council — and then have further assumed that the Yahuskin were the aboriginal occupants of the 5,000 sq. mi. Silver-Summer-Abert lakes region in aboriginal times (see Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, Map 1 and p. 131).

14. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864. Kelly's letter is dated Oct. 15, 1864.

15. RCIA 1864 [CDS #1220] pp. 228-229, 256-259; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272; WR pt 2, pp. 991-992.

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16. A. G. Walling says that Lindsay Applegate was an interpreter at the Klamath-Modoc treaty (History of Oregon, p. 523); Huntington states that "Dr. W. C. McKay and Captain Lindsay Applegate...acted as counsellors and interpreters to the Indians" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 269-272). No Klamath and Modoc witnesses in the Court of Claims and Boundary Commission hearings mentioned Applegate or McKay when asked who interpreted at the treaty-signing. Witnesses spoke of

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N 648 21. The treaty is officially dated October 14, 1864, and will be referred to hereafter under that date. Actually however it seems to have been signed October 15; Kelly and Huntington both agree on this latter date (NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864; RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 270, 651).

22. Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 386.

23. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8-9.

N [131] 24. WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 911. The "main traveled road" Drew mentions ran from Red Bluff, Calif., to Ft. Crook, Calif., thence along the eastern shore of Goose Lake to the head of the lake. From there it turned northeast "via the Malheur" to Ft. Boise, Idaho. See RCIA (CDS #1157) p. 412; Bancroft, Map of Oregon; Blanchard, Cabinet Map; WR vol. 50, pt. 2, p. 1226.

000 25. Drew, Official Report, pp. 5-6.

26. Drew, ibid., p. 7.

27. Drew, ibid., p. 28.

28. California Indians, p. 539; Tribes of California, p. 352.

29. Drew, Official Report, pp. 8, 1.

30. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-272; NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

31. Drew, Official Report, p. 8.

32. NA. WDC. DP. K-68-1864.

33. Treaty of October 14, 1864 (Stats. L., vol. 16, p. 383); RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 269-270.

34. Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 2, p. 99.

35. Ibid., pt. 2, p. 71.

36. Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 23.

K 101 114 37. An example of such metathesis is Power's transcription of aukckni and plaikni, Klamath names for two Klamath groups; Powers transcribes these as Eocakinnes and Blyskinnes (California Indians, p. 539).

N 131 133 38. The Great Basin, habitat of nearly all the Northern Paiute-speaking people, lies directly to the east of Klamath Lakes Basin. At its western edge the Great Basin is some thousand feet lower than the eastern edge of Klamath Lakes Basin.

K 101 39. Spier says: "All the Shoshoneans to the east are called sat [by the Klamath]; no distinctions are made" (Klamath Ethnography, p. 4). A Klamath witness in Court of Claims E-344 said much the same thing (p. 232).

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40. Army officials of this period were generally critical of the many unprovoked attacks on Indians by White settlers and miners. Such attacks too often precipitated needless Indian "Wars." Thus Dew, in narrating the clash between the White prospectors and Indians near the head of Goose Lake during his Owyhee Reconnaissance expedition, begins: "During our stay in the [Goose Lake] valley there occurred one of those incidents, that are unfortunately too common on our frontier, and often end in the injury or murder of innocent and unoffending citizens" (Drew, Official Report, pp. 7-8). 648

41. The Northern Paiute respected Army officers, who had a reputation of making few promises, but keeping their word. Col. Elmer Otis underscored the necessity for this sort of behaviour, in a letter written in the 1870's to Special Commissioner I. D. Applegate: "All promises to Indians must be kept faithfully, or they soon lose confidence and when once lost it is hard to regain" (NA. WDC. DC. 0-31-Encl. 4-1870). [609]

42. Thus Frank Lynch, a Sprague River Valley Klamath testifying in Court of Claims E-344 in 1931 on how he happened to attend the treaty council of 1864, said: "The eastern part of the Indians was requested to come to that council and they arrived at the place they called — below the place where they now call Chiloquin; and from that point we moved to this place of council. And I went there because I wanted to learn something and we had been promised to get some stuff from the Government, was word sent out. That is how I come to be there" (Court of Claims E-344, p. 827).

43. Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute; Omer C. Stewart, Northern Paiute Bands, p. 135; Whiting, Paiute Sorcery, pp. 16-18.

44. In fact, Drew indicates in a letter dated July 12, 1864 that he considered the Silver-Summer lakes region as being occupied at that time "by Indians of Ou-a-luck's band who are giving so much trouble near Canyon City" (Drew to Assistant Adjutant General, WR, vol. 50, pt. 2, pp. 877, 900). In his official report Drew blames another "Snake chief," Pauline, for an attack on a wagon train near Silver Lake on June 6, 1864 (Official Report, pp. 5). Information about Ou-a-luck or Howlark is fragmentary; after 1865 nothing is certainly known about him (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 89). 131 648

45. Kelly, ibid., p. 67; Omer C. Stewart, idem; Whiting, idem. 000

46. Kelly, ibid., p. 69.

47. Kelly, ibid., p. 70.

48. Frank John, a Surprise Valley Paiute witness at the Reno hearings, who was born in Warner Valley near Adel, Lake Co., Ore., ca. 1885, 115 131

and raised at Lakeview, Ore., at the head of Goose Lake, testified that the Paiute he was descended from not only hunted on the western slopes of the Warners around Goose Lake, but also hunted even farther west, in Drew's Valley and around Dog Lake. In a little valley which John did not know an English name for, some eight miles west of Lakeview, the Paiute obtained camas and other tubers, wild plums, wild onions, ground-hogs and deer. John had also heard of Paiutes utilizing the Chewaucan River-Summer-Abert lakes country for waterfowl at Chewaucan in the marsh, deer around Summer Lake, and ducks and deer and field rabbits at Abert Lake. Of Silver Lake and its food resources he said, "I don't know much about it," indicating that it was outside the range of his people (Reno Transcript, pp. 173-182, 184-185).

49. For early references to Northern Paiute in Surprise and Warner valleys see Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. II, p. 220; Frémont, Report, p. 212; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 89; Reed and Gaines, Gold Rush, vol. I, pp. 310, 577-578 and fns., pp. 624-627 and fns.; Williamson, Report of Reconnaissance made in 1849, pp. 20-21; Abbot, Report, p. 27; Drew, Official Report, p. 10; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received 1869. H-18 (Huntington's detailed account of his 1868 visit to eastern Oregon, with remarks on Capt. Warner's death at Warner Lake in 1849); Indian Affairs on the Pacific, p. 28; Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14 (a notable account of Hot Spring [Surprise] and Pi-ute [Warner] valleys and the Indians encountered there, in 1854, by Capt. Jesse Walker); Drew, ibid., pp. 9-15, 24 (also an excellent account, for 1864); Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt., I, 28ff.; RSW 1867 [CDS #1327] p. 69 (Maj. Gen. George Crook's report on Surprise and Warner valleys). For accounts of the Surprise Valley Paiute from 1870-1877 when they were intermittently on the Klamath Reservation see fns. for 3. 2; for a recent account of them see Kelly, Surprise Valley Paiute.

50. The Army officer was Gen. Benjamin Alvord, commanding the Department of the Columbia. In April, 1864, Alvord wrote to Col. R. F. Maury, commanding at Fort Dalles, Ore., "Any feasible and practical scheme of getting the Snakes under our control will command instant attention...They are a roving, nomadic race...a tribe hard to tame, not accustomed to a fixed place of abode, have no homes and no country; cannot by treaty surrender any lands, for they claim none. Such is supposed to be their condition." Huntington, with a Snake treaty in the offing, immediately controverted Alvord's statement, asserting that the Snakes had a sense of owning land, and that they claimed "all the land embraced in southeastern Oregon, together with parts of Idaho, Utah, and perhaps [sic] Nevada" (WR, pt. 2, pp. 810, 836-837). Statements made by numerous Northern Paiute witnesses in 1951 at the Reno hearings go far to substantiate Gen. Alvord's remarks (Reno Transcript, pp. 15, 30,

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32, 34, 38-40, 43-44, 68, 73-74, 92, 167-168, 171, 208-211, 216-218, 223-226, 231, 237-238, 255-256, 270-271). See also Capt. John M. Drake's conclusions after his long summer campaign of 1864 against the Northern Paiute of central and eastern Oregon (WR, pt. 1, pp. 341-342). N 114 423 648 K N 161

51. Population figures for the Yahooskins appear in the RCIA for 1865-1875 (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] pp. 650, 655; RCIA 1866 [CDS #1284] p. 89; RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] pp. 62, 71, 92; RCIA 1868 [CDS #1366] p. 584; RCIA 1869 [CDS #1414] pp. 618-619; RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516, 598-599; no mention RCIA 1871; RCIA 1872 [CDS #1560] pp. 781-782; RCIA 1873 [CDS #1639] p. 384; RCIA 1875 [CDS #1680] p. 618). After 1875 the Yahuskin are included with the Klamath in population figures, except for two confused entries relating to Walpapi Snake population in 1877 and 1878 (RCIA 1877 [CDS #1800] p. 567; RCIA 1878 [CDS #1850] p. 788). By 1880 and thereafter population is recorded only for the Klamath, Modoc and Snake Indians; the Snake Indians are the so-called Walpapi Snakes who in 1883 are given as "about 150" souls (RCIA 1883 [CDS #1959] p. 129). N M K 114 131 648

52. Place of Religious Revivalism, pp. 386, 403. Nash is mistaken about the Sprague River Valley Klamath being intermarried with the Modoc in pre-treaty times. There were no Modoc living in Sprague River Valley until 1870, when Peter Schonchin and a small group of Modoc were removed from Modoc Point on Upper Klamath Lake to the newly established Yainax Station in Sprague River Valley (RCIA 1870 [CDS #1449] pp. 516-518, 532; RCIA 1874 [CDS #1639] p. 447; Court of Claims E-344, p. 200; McLaughlin, My Friend the Indian, pp. 322-323). The Sprague River Valley Klamath were intermarried with the Northern Paiute, as we shall see from contemporary material by Drew.

53. Richardson had evidently been taking his train north on the "trail that led from Yuka [Yreka] via Little [Lower] Klamath Lake" and across upper Sprague River at John Day's Ford to Silver Lake, thence across the desert to the headwaters of the John Day River, when he was attacked near Silver Lake. See RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 142; Drew, Official Report, p. 5; WR, pt. 2, p. 381. K 648 487

54. Drew, Official Report, pp. 2-6; WR, pt. 2, p. 900; NA. WDC. DP. D-58-1864.

55. Variant transcriptions of this Klamath leader's name are Moghenkaskit (Klamath treaty of October 14, 1864) and Motcunka'skEt (Spier, Klamath Ethnography, p. 36). His Modoc name was Pomoaks (Court of Claims E-344, pp. 409, 954, 998, 1044). After the treaty his English name was Moses Brown (Nash, Place of Religious Revivalism, p. 431). K 551

Drew's material on Motcunka'skEt is fully confirmed in later sources. In October, 1864 Motcunka'skEt's name, recorded as Moghen- K [114]

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116. Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 27-29; Kennedy, Pioneer Campfire, pp. 116-118; Kendall, Pacific Trail, pp. 173-176; Lockley, Capt. Sol Tetheroe, pp. 8-9.

117. Thompson, Reminiscences, p. 29.

118. Budlong, Memories, pp. 5-6.

119. See fn. 8 above.

120. Protection Afforded, pp. 12-14.

121. The Crooked River route led eastward to the Snake River via the South Fork of John Day's River and Burnt River; a branch led to Harney Lake via Silvies River. This trail and its branch had been used since Ogden's time (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-352) and was the route H. D. Wallen followed to Harney Lake in 1859 (Affairs in Oregon) and which Enoch Steen took in 1860 (RCIA 1860 [CDS #1087] pp. 398-400). The Southern Oregon Emigrant Road, or Old South Road, was laid out in 1846 by a company of Oregon pioneers, among them Jesse and Lindsay Applegate. This road led westward from the Humboldt River region in Nevada to the Willamette Valley settlements in Oregon via Black Rock Desert, Surprise Valley, Lassen Pass, Goose Lake, Tule Lake, Lower Klamath Lake, and Rogue River Valley. Feeder roads diverged from it to Red Bluff and Redding, Calif., to Yreka, Calif., to Jacksonville, Ore., and to Ft. Klamath, Ore. For accounts and maps of this important east-west immigrant road into Oregon see Stone, Southern Route; Lindsay Applegate, Notes; Blanchard, Cabinet Map; RCIA 1861 (CDS #1117); p. 778; Kendall, Pacific Trail, pp. 132-143; Winther, Development of Transportation in Oregon, pp. 231-232; Old Oregon Country, pp. 116-117; Camp, James Clyman, p. 56; Drew, Official Report, p. 9; Delano, Across the Plains, p. 90; Bancroft, History of Oregon, vol. 1, p. 549.

122. RCIA 1857 (CDS #919) p. 207.

123. Which Frémont had so named in 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 207).

124. For an early description of this high desert region see WR, pt. 1, pp. 342-343.

125. NA. BIA. Geary to Greenwood, Portland, Ore., Dec. 15, 1859; RCIA 1862 (CDS #1157) p. 412.

126. Diagram of Public Surveys (1863); Thompson, Reminiscences, pp. 29-30, 33.

127. See fn. 53, above.

128. Idem.

THE NORTHERN PAIUTE OF CENTRAL OREGON: A CHAPTER IN TREATY-MAKING

Part 2[140]

Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin
Indiana University

3.1. The Treaty Woll-pah-pe. The Walpapi are unmistakably referred to for the first time, as signatories to a treaty—that of August 12, 1865, which was negotiated on behalf of the United States by Huntington at Council Bluffs (later Yainax), on Sprague River.[141] The Indian "chiefs and headmen" who signed this treaty for the "Woll-pah-pe Tribe of Snake Indians" were Pah-ni-ne, Hau-ni-noo-ey, Ki-nau-ney, Wa-ak-chau, Chok-ko-si, She-zhe, Che-em-ma, Now-hoop-a-cow-ick, Ke-po-weet-ka, Hau-ne or Shastook, Sah-too-too-we.[142]

The first published notice of the Walpapi is contained in Huntington's Annual Report for 1865, dated Sept. 17, 1865; in this report he lists "several subtribes of Snakes known as Ya-hoos-kin, Woll-pah-pe, Wah-tat-kin, I-uke-spi-ule, and Hoo-ne-boo-ey" that were living "East of the Cascade mountains and South of the Blue Mountains" in central Oregon.[143] Four of these sub-tribes had previously been named in treaties—the Yahuskin in the treaty of October 14, 1864, and the Walpapi, Hoo-ne-boo-ey (Hunibui) and Watatkin in the treaty of August 12, 1865.[144] Who furnished Huntington with the names of the five Snake "sub-tribes" we do not know, but we are inclined to believe that they were obtained from Klamath informants.[145]

wanted the women and children and horses that had been taken the preceding month returned, and that he wished to live with his people "between [Ft. Klamath] and the Dalles, East of the trail where it crosses the Des Chutes, and near a big mountain [Paulina Mt.?] East of the trail."[179]

From "one of [Panai'na's] Indians that was at the [Klamath] treaty" Kelly obtained an estimate, based comparatively on the number of Indians who had been at the treaty, "that Pan-ni-nie has about 500 Indians."[180] This number is repeated by George Nurse, an employee at the Fort, who states that "he [Panai'na] has five hundred under his command lit[t]le and great."[181] Nurse also says that Panai'na desired "to come in and live on the rode that Leads to the Dalls that his country is between that rode and the rout[e] that Co[l]. Drew went through this somer."[182]

Kelly observes that when Panai'na first came in to Ft. Klamath "he looked very sullen, his brows were knit heavily but before he left he got cheerful with the hope of get[t]ing his women, &c."[183] From Nurse's letter we learn that "the Captin" [Kelly] gave Panai'na "1 sack of rice and some shugar."

At Ft. Vancouver Gen. Alvord was delighted to hear that Panai'na had declared for peace. In a letter to Huntington, Alvord gives an interesting bit of information about Panai'na, and affords us insight on how the Army and Indian Office "made chiefs." Alvord writes, "Mr. Logan, agent at the Warm Springs Reservation, said that the Indian women said that Po-li-ni's brother was the principal chief, he being only war chief. No doubt it will be our policy to treat Po-li-ni as the head chief if he is friendly and peaceable, to increase if possible his power, and to make use of him in controlling all the Snake Indians."[184]

During the winter of 1864-1865 Panai'na remained at liberty, but was warned to keep the peace and not to go near the Warm Springs Reservation.[185] Early in April he sent word to Capt. Kelly by Motcunka'skEt that he "had been among several tribes of the Snakes, and advised them, as well as his own people, to be friend-

648 131 The Northern Paiute from Silver and Summer lakes under Tchákto t and Enkaltoick remained permanently on Klamath Reservation, in the eastern or Upper End. Late in November, 1868, Huntington visited them at "Yi-nax" and found that they consisted [161] of about 130 souls, "in deplorably destitute condition, both as re- [511] gards food and clothing. They are absolutely without clothing.... [262] As to food, their only resource was a little store of roots and seeds which they had gathered in autumn, after the troops had ceased to harass them...."[230] In December, 1868, Ivan D. Applegate[231] reported thus on the new arrivals: "On Ish-tish-en-wax creek [Fishhole Creek] on the eastern line of the Klamath Reser- [161] vation[232] there are near a hundred Snakes who lately came in, who show a disposition to remain peaceable, all express an ardent desire to be permanently settled on the Klamath Reservation."[233]

648 From 1869 onward the Walpapi were administered from Yainax, together with the Sprague River Klamaths ("Yahooskin Snakes"), Skontian's band of Modocs, and Ocheo's band of "Piutes" or "Snake Paiutes."[234] Occasionally additional Snakes from Silver and Summer lakes came in to join the Walpapi, as in 1870, when [166] Ivan D. Applegate reports that: "On the 15 [March] inst. twelve Snake Indians, Three (3) men, Three (3) women and Six (6) children came in [to Yainax] from Silver Lake. They are highly pleased with the prospect here, and say they will be able to bring in during the comeing summer, upon the Reservation, a number of their people."[235]

648 726 For several years after they settled on the Reservation, hunting parties from "Choctote's band of Pah-Utahs...were not unusual" in Summer Lake Valley, according to Gen. Edward M. Canby. In 1873 three of Tchaktot's people who had gone to Summer Lake to trade were killed as hostiles by the settlers. In 1874, according to Klamath Agent L. S. Dyar, "a small party of Snake Inds. belonging to Chocktote's band" retaliated by killing "one or two head of cattle in Summer Lake Valley, a short distance from the Reservation line .... The leader fled to some of the Snake bands to the East of Warner ...."[235a]

148. "Once settled upon the Klamath Reservation the Woll-pah-pe tribe will be the means of bringing all the others in. Indeed, Pau-li-nee is the war chief, the recognized leader in all their warlike expeditions. His submission will soon, no doubt, be followed by that of Howlark [another central Oregon-Northern California Snake war leader] and We-you-we-wa [see fns. 141, 142], and with them the last of the hostile bands" (RCIA 1865 [CDS #1248] p. 651, Huntington to Commissioner of Indian Affairs).

149. Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683, art. 7.

150. See p. 97 and fn. 7. Variant spellings of Panai'na's name are legion. Paulina Mountain, Paulina Lake, Paulina Marsh and Paulina, Ore., are named for him (McArthur, Oregon Geographical Names, p. 335).

151. Prior to Panai'na's appearance in the literature, "Snakes," as well as other Indians, had been encountered east of the Deschutes River, by traders and early explorers. However, no specific references are made in early accounts, to Snake "bands" or to individual Snakes, by name, and no attacks by Snakes of the Deschutes region are noted. Some of the early references to Snakes in this area are as follows.

Early in the 19th century Lewis and Clark were told by Columbia River Indians that "Snakes" (undoubtedly Northern Paiute) lived in large numbers on the Towornehiooks (Deschutes) River (Thwaites, Original Journals, vol. 3, pp. 147-149). In journals written in 1811-1812, two Pacific Fur Company traders, Robert Stuart and Wilson Price Hunt, refer to the Deschutes as the Shoshone, Shooshonie and Chochoni River. Stuart mentions the river's "being thickly inhabited by the Shoshone nation" (Rollins, Discovery, pp. 60, 70, 305, 326). Elsewhere in his journal, and on excellent authority, Stuart mentions the "Shoshonas" as also being on the Willamette River (ibid., pp. 33, 44). These Shoshonas whom Donald McKenzie, another Pacific Fur Company trader, met along the banks of the Willamette sometime prior to 1811 were "very numerous" and went "by the name of Shoshonas they have neither Horses nor canoes... they have no villages or stationary habitations, but live in temporary huts along the river banks — Mr. McKenzie says that their behaviour to him was respectful and obliging in the extreme" (ibid., pp. 33, 44). What Northern Paiutes were doing so far west of the Deschutes is hard to say, but McKenzie was a reliable reporter.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

In December, 1825 Peter Skene Ogden, Hudson's Bay trader, also found evidence of Snakes in the Deschutes region. Ogden came across two abandoned Snake camps, one consisting of forty huts, in the Deschutes-Crooked River country; he also notes that "Nez Perce" trappers had preceded him up the "River of the Falls," thereby indicating that the resources of this region were used not only by Snakes, but by other Indians as well (Elliott, Ogden Journals, vol. 10, pp. 343-345).

Ten years after Ogden, Nathaniel Wyeth, early Oregon pioneer from New England, found both Walla-Walla and Snake Indians around the junction of the Deschutes and Crooked rivers, in January, 1835. The Walla Wallas were hunting deer from horseback; no mention is made of the Snakes having horses (Young, Correspondence, p. 247). In the same general region Wyeth also met "Three lodges of friendly Snakes who had no meat or guns" and ten miles farther south he came upon eight lodges of Snakes (ibid., p. 246).

Frémont also met "a few Snake Indians of the root-digging species" with a village of Nez Perce Indians who "had with them fine bands of horses," on the east bank of the middle Deschutes River, in December, 1843 (Frémont, Report, p. 202).

In 1858, three years after the Warm Springs Reservation had been established by treaty on the west bank of the middle course of the Deschutes River, one group of Snakes, at least, were living opposite the Reservation on the east bank of the river. Dennison notes that in 1858 these Snakes had visited the Warm Springs Agency frequently during the year, and had been given a little tobacco on such occasions. Of their habits he says, "They subsist principally on insects, juniper berries, and roots; they kill some game, the skins of which furnish them with clothing; they have no horses or guns, but are said to be very fleet on foot and expert with the bow and arrow" (RCIA 1858 [CDS #974] p. 616). In January, 1859, Dennison visited a Snake camp east of Warm Springs (see fn. 140).

As before remarked, none of the early travelers, or Dennison in 1858 and January, 1859, refer to the Deschutes River Snakes as being hostile; McKenzie says those on the Willamette also were friendly. Possession of horses or guns is specifically denied, thereby indicating that they had done little or no raiding. Huntington states that prior to 1855 the Warm Springs Indians (Wascos and Des Chutes) had been friendly with the Snakes, and that it was only after this that enmity arose between them (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1248] p. 72; NA. BIA. OS. Letters Sent. J. W. Perit Huntington to

N
131 179. This is about where Panai'ha's people were found by Huntington. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to E. P. Waite, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

180. Idem.

181. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to Mr. Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

182. Idem. The reference is to Drew's Owyhee expedition. Roughly, Panai'ha's "country" included almost the entire eastern half of Oregon, according to Panai'ha's own statement. If he had any home base, however, the 1864 material seems to indicate that it was in the Deschutes-Crooked River region.

183. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Wm. Kelly to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Nov. 10, 1864.

184. WR, pt. 2, p. 1072.

185. Ibid., pp. 1114-1115.

N
648 186. Nurse also sent Huntington much the same information in a letter written about the same time. Nurse says Panai'ha intended to "fetch as many off his Indians as posible in this somer if ther was any way to treet with him and make a permanent Treaty" (NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. George Nurse to J. W. Perit Huntington, Fort Klamatt, April 6, 1865).

187. WR, pt. 2, pp. 1114-1115.

K
101 188. Undoubtedly Motcunka'skEt and his people; for once Hunt-
728 ington refers to them correctly as Klamath, not Yahuskins.
648 Motchunka'skEt often served as a go-between for Snake hostiles and Huntington, Lindsay Applegate, and the military at Ft. Klamath (see fn. 55, and fn. 186 and text) but his loyalty to the Whites was at this period somewhat questionable (fn. 201 and text. Cp. pp. 106-107).

189. RCIA 1865 (CDS #1248) pp. 650-651; Stats. L., vol. 14, p. 683.

K
131 190. I. e., in Sprague River Valley, probably in the upper part.
423 This valley is often referred to, both by the military and Indian
101 Office personnel of this period as "Moshenkoskut's country," "the
621 Yahooskins' own country," "Blie or Moshenkoshut's country," and "Blie or Sprague River Valley." See fn. 86; also NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Ore , Oct. 31, 1865.

6: Wheeler-Voegelin E-4 (no date) 1955-56
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Klamath NR10

191. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., Oct. 6, 1865.

192. P. 106 and fns. 59-62.

193. Gatschet records this name as Tchatchâktchaksh (Klamath Indians, pt. 1, p. 291). N 551

194. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Oct. 31, 1865; p. 107 and fns. 76, 77.

195. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ashland Mills, Jan. 20, 1866; p. 107 and fn. 78. N 361 221

Despite Panai'na's statement to Applegate that his people were wintering near the Deschutes, there is a possibility that some of his group, at least, wintered in the Silver-Summer lakes region east of Sprague River in 1865-1866. In May, 1866, the Klamath decoyed a Snake man in Sprague River Valley and took him prisoner; this captive told them he was "of those of Pauline's people left near Silver Lake last fall and that before ... all those left [Silver Lake] he had come onto the Reservation to hunt [Panai'na] up" (NA. BIA. Letters Received. Lindsay Applegate to J. W. Perit Huntington, Klamath Agency, May 30, 1866). N K 648

196. Motcunka'skEt was not at his camp in upper Sprague River Valley at the time; probably he was at Ft. Klamath (see p. 107).

197. NA. BIA. OS. Letters Received. W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, Ore., April 24, 1866; ibid., W. V. Rinehart to J. W. Perit Huntington, Ft. Klamath, May 3, 1866; RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) pp. 77, 89; Gatschet, Klamath Indians, pt. 1, pp. 28-31.

198. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. Huntington wrote this fourteen months after the Walpapi treaty had been signed. The large rectangular tract he refers to lies mainly within the northern part of the Klamath-Modoc-Yahuskin treaty cession, and is west of the triangular area ceded by Panai'na in 1865. N 361 131

199. RCIA 1866 (CDS #1284) p. 77. No annuities or other benefits were paid during the fiscal year 1866-1867, either (RCIA 1867 [CDS #1326] p. 63). N K 648

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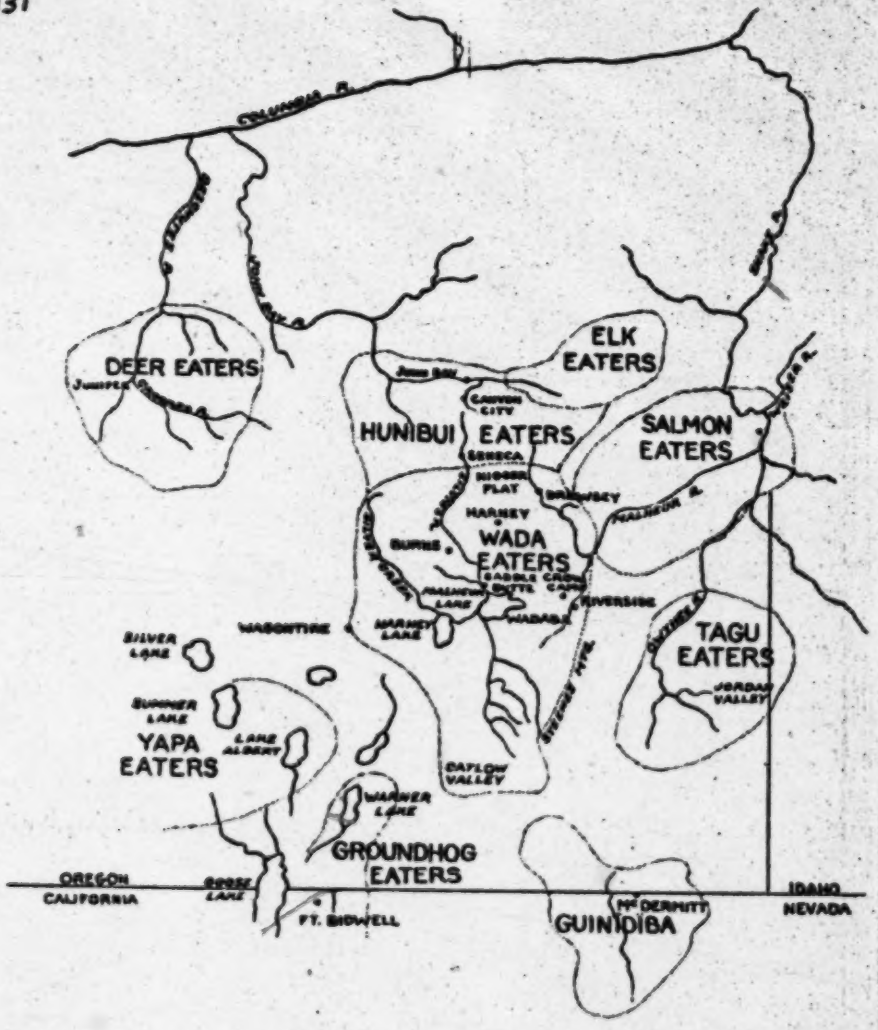

THE HARNEY VALLEY REGION

II. Paviotso Shamanism

Introduction

The material on Paviotso shamanism presented in this section was collected in the course of ethnographic field investigations carried on by the writer over a period of three summers.[1] Before the coming of the whites, the Paviotso roamed over the semi-arid country of western Nevada and Honey Lake Valley in California. In the winter and spring they lived on the shores of the lakes of this region—Pyramid, Humboldt, Carson and Walker Lakes of Nevada, and Honey Lake in California. Probably at no time did the population exceed three thousand. At the present time there are nearly a thousand full-blooded and half-breed Paviotso living on the Pyramid Lake, Walker River, and Fallon reservations and in the small colonies at the Nevada towns of Reno, Yerington, and Lovelock.

The Paviotso or Northern Paiute living largely in western Nevada, belong to the Mono-Paviotso branch of Shoshonean-speaking peoples. Although dialectically and geographically very close to the Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys, the Nevada bands form an ethnic unit quite distinct from their linguistic relatives in California.[2]

Under aboriginal conditions, the Paviotso were on friendly and intimate terms with the Northern Paiute of Surprise and Owens valleys in California, to whose language their own is closely related. The Washo, living immediately to the west, were peaceful but not friendly. Contacts with these people were infrequent. Constant warfare was carried on with the Pit River Indians of California, who were their traditional enemies. The northeastern Maidu were also unfriendly and often came into conflict with the Paviotso. Other people in northeastern California and southern

[1] A preliminary account based on the first summer's field work was published in 1934 (see Park, *Paviotso Shamanism*). Material obtained on subsequent trips added considerable data, modified some, and corroborated other aspects of the earlier statement. The present account of Paviotso practices, although offered as a more accurate picture, is but a summary. It is hoped that it will be possible in the near future to publish the detailed material as a part of a rounded account of Paviotso culture. This chapter can thus be regarded essentially as a skeletonized version of Paviotso practice and belief.

[2] Kelly, *Surprise Valley Paiute*, 70–73; Steward, *Owens Valley Paiute*, 235–237.

11: Park E-5 (1933-1935) 1938
NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

provide all the data on this phase of the culture. Full accounts of shamanistic beliefs and practices were recorded from six well-informed laymen, about half of whom spoke English, the others requiring interpreters. Finally, many of the statements made by both shamans and non-shamans were checked with some fourteen or fifteen additional informants from whom only fragmentary material on shamanism could be obtained.

Before the intrusion of the whites, the Paviotso of western Nevada lived in five named, loosely organized, localized bands. The geographical centers for these semi-nomadic groups were the five lakes of the region: Pyramid, Walker, Humboldt, and Carson Lakes in western Nevada, and Honey Lake a few miles west of the Nevada-California state line. Data on all aspects of the culture were recorded from informants belonging to each of these localized groups. A careful scrutiny of this material, both that on shamanism and on the other phases of the culture, shows no significant cultural differences among the bands. Differences that appear in the accounts—and this is particularly true of the data on shamanism—seem to be the result of individual interpretation rather than cultural distinctions among local groups. In short, the loose localized bands of the Paviotso prove on investigation not to be separate cultural units. Therefore the Paviotso embracing these five so-called bands will be treated here as an ethnic unit.

The most important aspect of the religious life of the Paviotso is shamanism. There are other religious beliefs and observances also, as for example praying to the sun for success in the hunt, for relief from pain, for protection against the evil consequences of dreams, or for well-being, belief in the efficacy of charms, and the slightly religious tinge of the round dances. But all of these play a minor rôle in the religion of the Paviotso compared to shamanistic beliefs and practices.

The world in which the Paviotso live is full of animate beings unseen in a workaday experience. The spirits of animals, birds, and insects, spirits that live in certain caves in the mountains, water-babies that live in water-holes and in the lakes, the spirits of the wind, clouds and thunder, all can talk to man and assist him in his struggle to gain a living, to preserve health, and to cure sickness.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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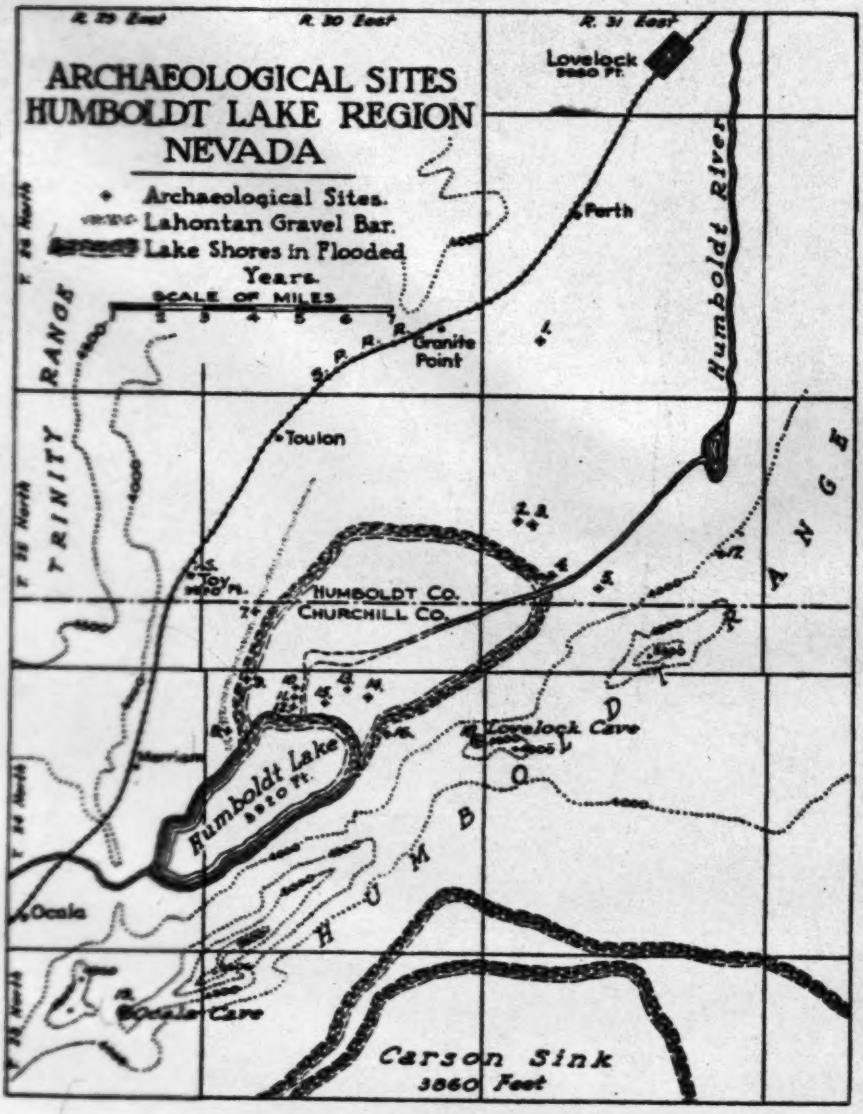

MAP OF HUMBOLDT LAKE REGION

[End Plate 1]

13: Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

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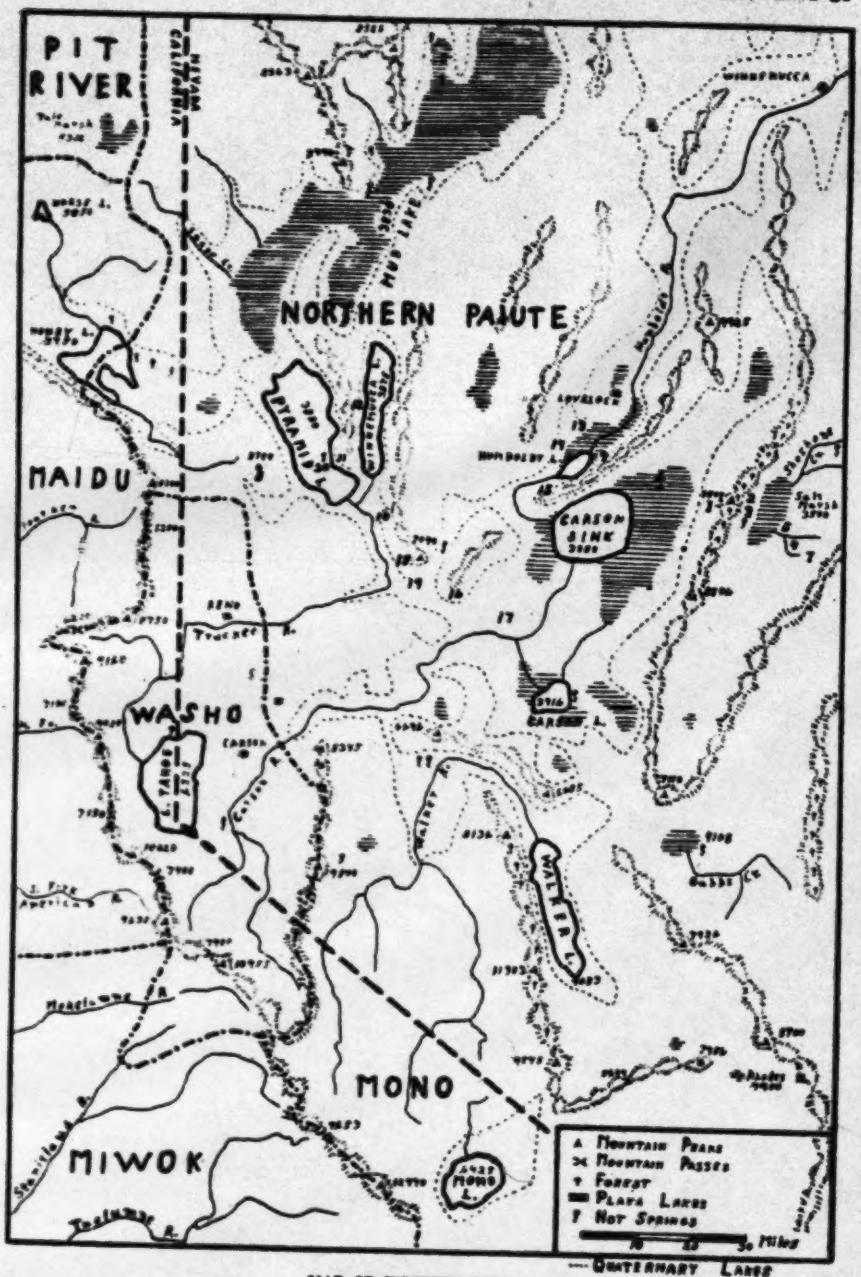

MAP OF WESTERN NEVADA

[End plate 68]

[End plates 31-67 not processed]

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

APPENDIX 2. NOTES ON THE NORTHERN PAIUTE

BY

LLEWELLYN L. LOUD

131

The territory within the limits of Nevada now inhabited by the Northern Paiute includes the counties of Washoe, Humboldt, Pershing, Churchill, Lyon, Storey, Ormsby, Douglas, and Esmeralda, a total of 27,239 square miles, or one-third of the area of the state. Within these counties there was, in 1910, an Indian population of 3353, including 536 Washo and 60 Mono.[39a] This would make 9 Indians per 100 square miles. How the present population compares with the population of primitive times is a matter for speculation.

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[161]

NORTHERN PAIUTE BANDS

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The Northern Paiute were divided into numerous bands of one hundred or more individuals each, so that individuals of one kin kept together in their seasonal travels in search of food. The Handbook of American Indians lists 61 of these bands,[40] but only about half of them are really Northern Paiute, the others being located in Mono or Shoshoni territory. Natches gave a list of bands, or "families" as he called them, as follows.

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[101]

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sai'i, short form of sai-duka'a, "tule-eaters," a mythical people formerly living in various parts of Nevada. The Handbook gives what appears to be the same name, Saidyuka, as a band of eastern Oregon.

neme, "people" or "person," the Northern Paiute name for their own people from Walker lake, Nevada, to Snake river, Idaho. They call their language numa. Another name for themselves, at least those from Humboldt lake to Oregon, was agitsi'i.

[113]

[39a] Indian Population United States and Alaska, 1910, pp. 23, 28. U. S. Census Bur., 1915.

[40] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Am. Ethn., pt. I, 1907; pt. II, 1912. Names of bands and data regarding them are found in articles as follows: Mono-Paviotso (including Snakes and Saidyuka of Oregon), Paviotso, Sawagativa, Itsaatiaga, Toiwait, Kosipatuwiwagaiyu, Kuyuidika, Pamitoy, Laidukatuwiwait, Genega, Watsequeorda, Winnemucca (The Giver), Warartika, Tonoyiet, Tozepe, Wahi, Tupustikutteh, Tubianwapu, Hadsapoke, San Joaquin's Band, Odukoo, Petodseka, Tosarke, Poatsituktikuteh.

13:Loud U-5 (1914) 1929 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

sawa-kate, "sage-tip," name of Winnemucca mountain. Handbook gives Sawagativa, "large hill," as the band about Winnemucca. 62/ 101

idza'a-teaga-tekade, "Coyote-canyon-eaters." Name taken from a canyon near Unionville, where there are many squirrels. Equivalent of Itsaa-tiaga of the Handbook. 131 ●

kepA-tekade, "squirrel-eaters" of Granite Spring valley.

toi-tekade, "cat-tail-eaters," the Indians of Stillwater slough. Natches knew of Indians living on a sand hill in the level plain near the stage station. Within half a mile of the slough there are many sand hills which were formerly inhabited, especially by the people who fought Wolf and Coyote (see page 161). The Handbook gives Toi-wait as a band of 400 living in 1870 about the lower sink of the Carson. kusi-pa'a-tepiwakayukU, "muddy-water-village," is a more correct orthography of Kosi-pa-tuwiwagaiyu, "muddy water place" given in the Handbook as a band, but more properly a village. [162] [114]

woitsi-tekade, "Wadsworth-eaters," the people living on Truckee river near Wadsworth, which has the Northern Paiute name of woitsi.

kuyui-tekade, "sucker-eaters" of Pyramid lake. The Handbook gives the same name Kuyui-dika as a band living near the site of Wadsworth and otherwise known as "Wunamuea's band."

nodi-tekade, "Mason valley-eaters," probably the same band as those called in the Handbook the "Pam-mi-toy, 'western tule eaters.' A Paviotso band formerly in Mason valley, W. Nev.; so called because a lake in this valley, now dry, formerly yielded tule." However, toy is the cat-tail, *Typha latifolia*, not tule.

agai-tekade, "trout-eaters," of Walker lake.

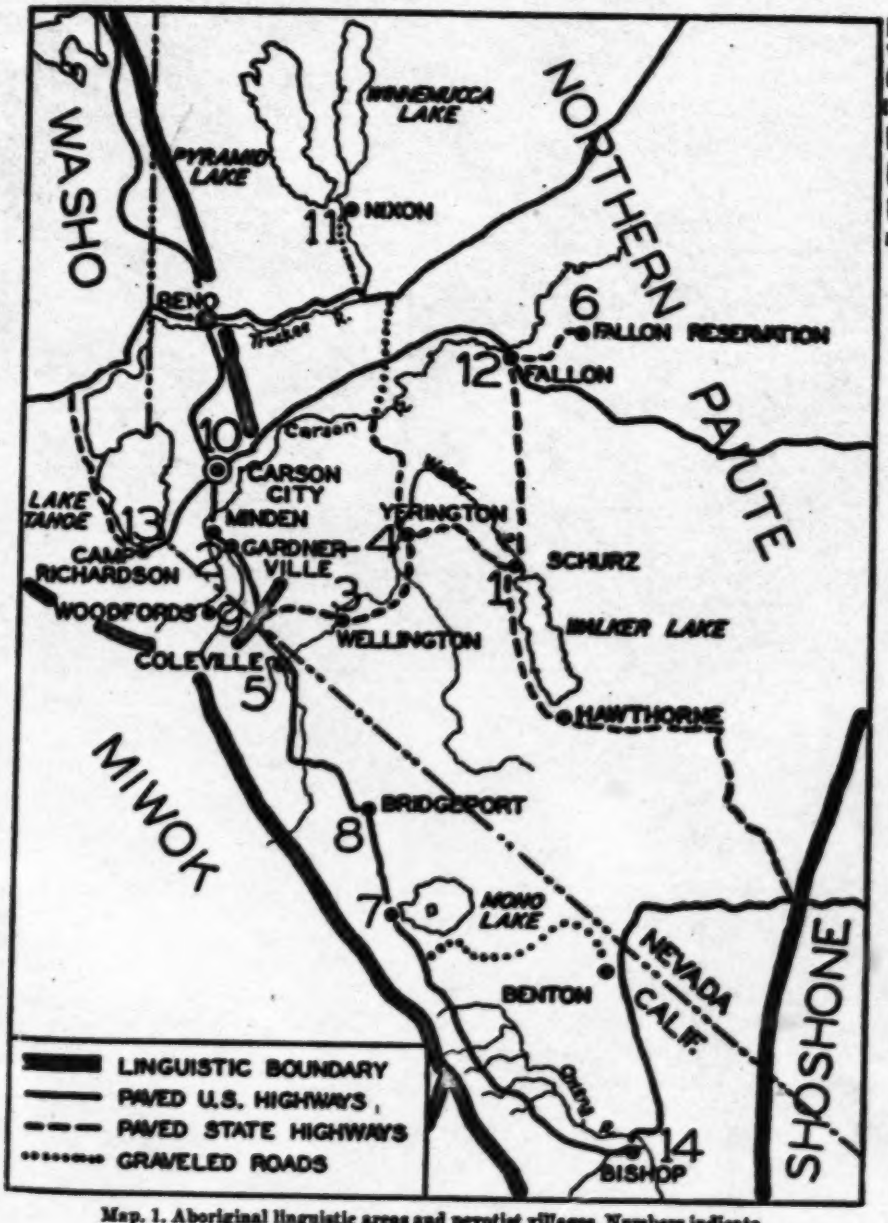
MANNER OF LIVELIHOOD

Gilbert Natches, the Northern Paiute informant, said that he was born to the north of Humboldt lake, at Toy. The name of the place is ô-tl-ga-du-tU, which is presumed to be site 6 of plate 1, although ô-tl-ga-du-tU is also the name for the gravel ridge opposite Toy (see sites 7 and 8 and dotted areas of plate 1). The band of which Natches was a member lived at this point and sometimes at the outlet of the lake. From these bases the band journeyed far and wide with the seasons. [115] [103] [221]

Hunting.—Game was hunted more or less in all seasons. In early spring they went to the mountains to get ground squirrels. It was not 224 [221]

¼ [see end plate 1 -- An.]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

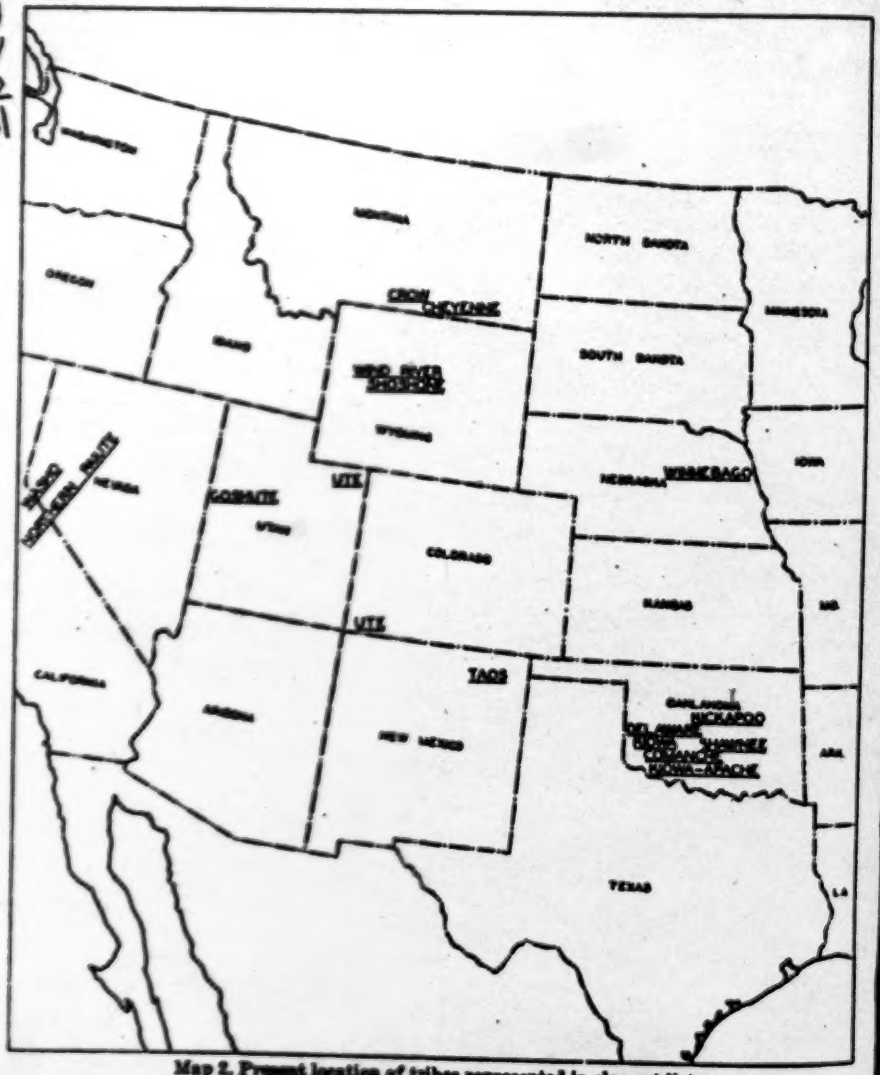


Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13 ●
Washo NT20

with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continues. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.



Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

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THE HOMELAND

133 [131] Honey Lake Valley, in Northeastern California, lies immediately east of the northern extremity of the Sierra Nevada mountains, of which Diamond Mountain is the northern terminus. The valley takes its name from a large (64,000 acres), shallow (about 12 feet deep at maximum) playa lake whose surface elevation is 3,992 feet above sea level. The timbered Sierra contrasts markedly with the seemingly unending [137] sagebrush terrain to the north and east. It is from the [312] Sierra and its northern and western extensions that the supply of water for Honey Lake, and Eagle Lake to the northwest in Atsugewi territory, comes.

The northern and western sections of the Wadátkuht area are of a volcanic origin and constitute elements of the Modoc [137] lava sheet. In the more elevated and watered areas of this vast sagebrush desert juniper trees are found growing. Susan River and Willow Creek constitute the major streams in the region, but there are numerous other smaller streams, many of an intermittent nature. Honey Lake is a remnant of the ancient Lahontan system, while Eagle Lake, Horse Lake and Madeline Plains were separate large bodies of water during Lahontan times. For the Wadátkuht people the Honey Lake area of their territory was of prime importance as it was at this lake, and on the numerous sloughs of Susan River, that water [137] fowl and fish could be obtained in quantity. The east base (i.e., the west side of the lake) of the Sierra provided groves [262] of oaks which yielded sufficient acorns to keep the Wadátkuht relatively secure from famine. The more arid regions produced the ever important jackrabbit while the higher, timbered [136] regions yielded deer. Other large game animals captured besides the deer were elk, antelope, mountain sheep, and buffalo. The latter, however, appear to have been sufficiently scarce to have been of slight importance. Both black and grizzly bears occurred in the territory but were apparently not too eagerly sought. Besides these various large mammals the Wadátkuht had a wide variety of smaller animals and birds which they utilized for food and/or clothing.

132 The climate of the Wadátkuht territory falls primarily into two types: a) subhumid; and b) semi-arid (see map, Northeastern California Climatic Types). The Wadátkuht were [133] fortunate, however, to be able to utilize the mountainous regions to the south and to the west of their own territory. [221] At certain times of the year they could make hunting and gather- [137] ing forays into the mountain meadows and conifer timbered regions outside their recognized territory,

escape, but while in the water he was shot through the body by a soldier, John Mulroney. Killed at this time was Joaquin's brother. Joaquin escaped and was cared for by the others who had gotten away. For the remainder of his long life Joaquin felt bitterness toward the whites and the Maidu. 175 648.

Upon another occasion soldiers captured two Paiute men at a place on Susan River called Wutsono ihd (called this because of the whirlpool found there). This place is now called Soldier Bridge and is about one mile west of Litchfield where the old highway used to cross the river. The relatives never learned what happened to these two men as they were never seen again.

Incidences such as those just related provide testimony from the Indians that contact between the settlers and the Indians was not always peaceful. The Indians coveted the settlers' livestock and other possessions, and the whites wanted the Indians' homeland.

BOUNDARIES AND POPULATION

The boundaries between native groups, both in California and the Great Basin, can seldom be regarded as we regard our own well-defined political boundaries. If one is able to get precise boundary locations from informants of one group he will usually find that these boundaries do not always coincide with those accepted by a neighboring group. The boundary lines given in this work of necessity must be somewhat arbitrary. Decisions for the location of the Wadátkuht boundaries are based on several factors. The names and locations of Wadátkuht camps and villages are of prime importance in deciding whether a certain area belongs to the Wadátkuht or to some other group. It was on just such evidence, a village name, that I have placed the Horse Lake area into Wadátkuht territory. In doing this I find that I am in agreement with Merriam (1926) but not with Kniffen (1928). In all fairness, however, it must be stated that the Pit River people regularly visited Horse Lake, which agrees with Kniffen's statement. Another criterion for my locations of Wadátkuht boundaries is the statement of my informants who were able to precisely differentiate between their territory and that of their neighbors. Accepting these statements uncritically, however, involves an element of danger because an informant occasionally would dogmatically state that some area or physiographic feature belonged to his group, yet be unable to substantiate 131 114 115

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131 his claim. For example, one Wadátkuht informant said re-
114 peatedly that the Susanville area belonged to them, yet she
could not give any camp or village names within the area.
115 Maidu informants, however, gave the names and locations of
a number of Maidu villages in that area. On another occasion
a Washo informant stated that the Washo territory extended as
far north as Susanville, yet could not give the names or
locations of any Washo villages in that area despite the fact
that he did know the region south of Doyle. Similar conflict-
ing statements were recorded from various informants, so one
cannot always rely upon what an informant claims for the
territory of his particular group; instead one must rely upon
names and locations known by the informant.

In most cases the informants were sincere when they gave what they considered to be the boundaries of their group's territory. But it seemed to be a rather common occurrence for an informant to consider as his group's territory those areas of his neighbor's in which the first group made hunting and gathering forays. In drawing the boundary lines for the Wadátkuht an attempt was made to avoid these pitfalls. I did not include those peripheral areas periodically visited by the Wadátkuht and for which they had no camp or village names and for which they could provide no names for the physiographic features. I have tried, however, to note the use of these areas by the Wadátkuht.

131 The eastern boundary of the Wadátkuht territory can best be placed on, or in close proximity to the California-Nevada state line. The eastern neighbors, thus, would be their relatives, the Kuyuitkuht. The southern tip of the Wadátkuht territory extends to Doyle where Washo territory begins. Proceeding northwest of Doyle along the crest of the Sierra the boundary extends to the vicinity of Thompson Peak where it turns directly north. Although some groups of Wadátkuht crossed the summit, or crest of the Sierra into Dixie Valley, Plumas County, to gather products growing there they did not claim this area because it was only used for relatively short periods of time. They called it TasuP, meaning "Wild game place". This region can be considered to be an area of mutual use by both the Washo and the Wadátkuht, and possibly by the Maidu. Gladys Mankins said that it belonged to the Washo.

At Thompson Peak the boundary line runs north to Horse Lake with the Mountain Maidu territory lying to the west as far north as Antelope Ridge a few miles northeast of Susanville. North of Antelope Ridge the Pit River people are the

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western neighbors of the Wadátkuht. From Horse Lake the boundary line proceeds northeasterly to McDonald Peak and then east to the state line. The Kamötkuht are the northern neighbors and relatives of the Wadátkuht.

In essence, the boundary locations presented here agree with those given by Stewart (1939). The disagreements are primarily ones of greater refinement here of the territorial boundary lines. I give all of the Honey Lake peninsula and the lower reaches of Long Valley Creek north of Doyle to the Wadátkuht, while Stewart assigns this region to the Washo. It is true that this area was somewhat used by the Washo, but my information rather clearly indicates that this region belongs to the Wadátkuht.

Stewart states that the tasiget tuviwarai ("in between dwellers") were to the east of the Wadátkuht (ibid., p. 138), but my informants stated a number of times that the region east of Honey Lake and the state line was uninhabited and that the first people to be encountered to the east were the Kuyuitkuht. The most easterly Wadátkuht village was located almost at the present state line. When closely pressed, however, Susy Buster seemed to recall the "in between dwellers" but could give no details of them. [361]

It is without hesitation that I assign most of Secret Valley to the Wadátkuht, although I have no information concerning the area west of Secret Valley in the vicinity of Snow Storm Creek and Petes Valley. It seems more or less arbitrary which group should be assigned to this latter region, the Atsugewi or the Wadátkuht. At the present state of knowledge I am inclined to agree with Merriam (1926) and consider this region as belonging to the Wadátkuht, particularly since they have been allotted Horse Lake by both Merriam and myself.

To the north of Secret Valley is Madeline Plains, the eastern half of which was utilized by the Wadátkuht. The western half belongs to the Pit River people. The Wadátkuht western boundary, from Horse Lake to McDonald Peak, is in agreement with that presented by Merriam (ibid.). Stewart agrees with both Merriam and Kniffen apparently without realizing that they are not in agreement (Stewart, 1939, p.137). Stewart, however, gives this as the western boundary for the Kamötkuht, whereas I am inclined to credit it to the Wadátkuht. Actually, both ways may be correct for as Stewart says, "...the Kamö band was allotted that territory which others did not claim" (ibid.).

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claim" (ibid.). Apparently the Wadátkuht shared the eastern half of Madeline Plains with the Kamōtkuht. The Wadátkuht admit only to having used this area for periodic hunting and gathering. They said that it was too cold to have any winter villages there. It seems likely that the Kamōtkuht may have felt the same way about this area. The Kamōtkuht appear to have been rather close friends, and often relatives, of the Secret Valley Wadátkuht, thus a boundary would have slight significance to either group. At the present stage of information it seems proper to represent a boundary line between Secret Valley and Madeline Plains as a broken line to indicate that little or no boundary was recognized by the Paiute people utilizing both areas. The eastern half of Madeline Plains will be considered to be a region of mutual utilization by both the Kamōtkuht and the Secret Valley Wadátkuht. Large archaeological sites in Madeline Plains indicate considerable occupation in some pre-contact time. These sites need not represent winter villages, however.

McDonald Peak seems to be an outstanding boundary marker between the Pit River people and the Paiute. Ike Northrup even told of Clark's Valley and Blue Lake, which are about eighteen miles northeast of McDonald Peak, being jointly used by Paiute and Pit River people. However, McDonald Peak can certainly stand as a major pivot for the Paiute-Pit River boundary. The use of Clark's Valley and Blue Lake by some Wadátkuht appears to be the exception rather than the rule. It seems worthwhile to mention, however, that Ike stated that Red Rock, about ten miles east of McDonald Peak, was as far as the Pit River people came.

A population estimate is rather difficult to make for the Honey Lake Paiute but an estimate of 200 persons made by Gladys Mankins would appear to be about as close a guess as can now be made. My informants gave me a complete census of the two groups of Wadátkuht as of circa 1880-1890, at least far as their memory served them. The Honey Lake group had somewhat more than 30 persons living at the village of Matá. The Secret Valley group had about the same number living together in one of their villages at this same time. Assuming that possibly as many as 25 more individuals were living elsewhere in the Wadátkuht territory at this same time we have a total of nearly 100 Wadátkuht Paiute living circa 1880-1890. This number may be slightly excessive but is probably not too much out of line. Since introduced disease, warfare and accident claimed a great number of Wadátkuht victims it does not seem incorrect to suggest that the aboriginal Wadátkuht

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42) Daolulehlehk - means "Fire Makes Red Rock", the name for the eroded bluffs of red colored earth which can be seen from Highway 395 at the Red Rock turn-off.

43) Daogépehm - means "Like a Cut-bank", and is the name for Dog Valley grade where ice water springs are located on the county road.

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Harry Wilson, in his interview, tended to proceed geographically from Doyle to a point south and east of the Nevada State Prison in his place names. This is particularly true for items 31 through 40. It was neither possible to get him to be more precise, nor to get him to go to the places physically. For these reasons these geographic places are not more accurately located. He could not give a name for Long Valley or for Long Valley Creek which flows into Honey Lake.

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These notes on Northern Washo ethnogeography tend to substantiate the contention of the Honey Lake Paiute that their territory extends to Doyle and that of the Washo begins at Doyle and extends southward. Had Harry Wilson known of Washo villages north of Doyle there is no reason to believe that he would have neglected to mention them. In fact, special interrogation was made at the time to urge him to give any information concerning names for villages and physiographic features in the Honey Lake region. The result was limited to his providing a name for Honey Lake, Hot Springs Mountain, and Fort Sage Mountain, all prominent physiographic features near his home. Village names and locations are conspicuously absent in his presentation. This does not deny the fact that the Washo used portions of the Honey Lake Valley, but it very strongly suggests that their use was with the consent of the Honey Lake Paiute who held title to the region.

W [124]

N [423]

W N [648]